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# MONTROSE

AND

# THE COVENANTERS,

THEIR

## CHARACTERS AND CONDUCT,

ILLUSTRATED

FROM PRIVATE LETTERS AND OTHER ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED,

EMBRACING THE TIMES OF CHARLES THE FIRST, FROM THE RISE OF THE TROUBLES IN SCOTLAND, TO THE DEATH OF MONTROSE.

BY

MARK NAPIER, Esq.

ADVOCATE.

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# MONTROSE

## AND THE COVENANTERS.

### CHAPTER I.

IN WHICH TRAQUAIR SPEAKS FOR HIMSELF.

On the 15th of July 1641, Lord Loudon opened the Scotch Parliament by a speech, in which he delivered the substance of the King's Instructions, and these, according to covenanting tactics, were received with a display of cordiality and gratitude more insulting than sincere. It was found and declared that nothing should be done before his Majesty arrived, by act, sentence, or determination of any kind, except to prepare, accommodate, and ripen the business of Parliament. To this, however, was added the large exception, which, along with every other conceivable case, comprehended the act of taking off the head of John Stewart, younger of Ladywell, namely, "except any such occasion occur which the Parliament shall find to concern the public good, and peace of the kingdom, and present necessity thereof."

There was one clause of the Instructions to which Dunfermline and Loudon appeared anxious to obtain a favourable answer, and that was on the subject of the Earl of Traquair. It is a curious trait of the working of the covenanting machinery, that nothing, even at

this momentous crisis, seemed to be considered of such vital importance as the case of this persecuted nobleman. Traquair had become unpopular with all parties, in consequence of a vain attempt to steer a middle course. One while he was in bad odour with the Covenanters, and the next with the King. He had the reputation of being a mortal enemy to the bishops, and at the same time was devoted to Charles with a warmth of affection never sufficiently appreciated. His name is conspicuous in the history of the period, yet can he hardly be said to be recorded, for his character has been abandoned to the mists of prejudice and passion, so industriously raised around him by his personal enemies. Clarendon, indeed, has left some conjectures as to his equivocal policy, or what was deemed so, in reference to the hierarchy, at that stormy and difficult crisis when the Covenant arose; but the only decided protraiture of him afforded by the great historian makes us curious to know more of its subject. "Though he was a wise man," says Clarendon, "the wisest, to my understanding, that I have known of that nation, he was not a man of interest and power with the people, but of some prejudice."

But all Traquair's unpopularity, all his faults, nay, all of which he was ever coherently accused, are quite inadequate to account for the extraordinary excitement which seemed to prevail against him during the treaty of London, and when the King proposed to visit Scotland. It was impossible for Charles to understand why this nobleman, discountenanced at Court, inclined to retire from public life, and possessing no great influence in any quarter, should be pursued with an unrelenting animosity that too clearly indicated a thirst for his blood. We have seen that even the Scotch Commis-

sioners, while they pressed the matter as a condition of the treaty, could not discover the propriety or necessity of their own obstinacy. Traquair too was bewildered by the rapid rising of the tide of faction against himself. The colour the agitation had now taken was the idea of a desperate and devilish plot, in which Traquair, with the assistance of Montrose, was said to be working upon the King, for the repeal of the covenanting constitutions, and the destruction of Hamilton and Argyle. It was circulated that all this, through the good providence of the Almighty, had been detected and unravelled from the examinations of Walter Stewart and the Plotters. The few who were behind the scenes of the Covenant must have known the utter worthlessness of Stewart's evidence, and that Montrose and his friends had deponed in terms to have relieved them, from that violent scandal, in the eyes of all honourable and honest men. And the elect also knew the real key to the vicious excitement, those malevolent letters, namely, of Archibald Johnston's, in which he so passionately applies himself to rouse the revenge or the fears of the democratic clique. But Traquair himself knew something of Walter Stewart, and when the vague and exaggerated rumours of the Plot reached his ears, and the King's, they both naturally supposed that this calumny would be dispelled by their own statement of the truth. Charles repeatedly declared, in corroboration of Traquair's earnest asseverations to the same effect, that no plotting or communications, of the kind said to have been deponed to by Walter Stewart, had occurred. The King assured the Scotch Commissioners of this upon "his trust and credit," and they reported accordingly to the Committee of Estates, before the King arrived in Scotland. John

Stewart was now on his trial for that very questionable charge of leasing-making, which consisted, not of defaming the King to the subject, not even of carrying false reports of the subject directly to the King, but of defaming one subject to another, whereby, it was inferred, the falsehood might reach the King's ear. For this, Argyle pursued his victim unrelentingly to the death. But how did Walter Stewart stand upon all the depositions? He was contradicted by the separate depositions of Montrose, Napier, Keir, and Blackhall. His Majesty and Traquair had declared his statement to be groundless, so far as they were concerned, and he had also contradicted himself. The very inspection of his papers must have satisfied his examinators that his story was false. Now his fabrications directly implicated the King himself. He had sworn to the effect that Charles was in a Plot with Traquair and Montrose for subverting the Liberties of the Country, and encompassing the lives of the Patriots. His case was of that manifest character of defaming the King to the subject, and surely it did not take him out of such a charge, that his leasings occurred in the form of perjury upon judicial examination. Could the crime of leasing-making be now committed only against Argyle? Where upon this occasion was his Majesty's Advocate for his Majesty's interest, that veteran lawyer who obtained the convictions against Balmerino, and John Stewart? The case against Walter Stewart was clearer under the statutes, and yet he is kept in prison, not to answer for falsehoods affecting the Throne itself, as well as the liberty and lives of various noblemen and gentlemen, but simply as one of "the Plotters," or rather as King's evidence against them and the King. Then the cool effrontery of the Scotch Commissioners,—who in their hearts believed the King,

and knew that the informer was a rogue,—is certainly unparalleled in any age of faction, when they say, after stating the contradiction which the evidence had met with from his Majesty and Traquair,—" but it is not likely that Lieutenant-Colonel Walter Stewart, his relation to the Earl of Traquair being considered, would to his prejudice have invented them."

At the opening of the present Parliament an attempt was made, both by the King and Traquair, to remove this stumbling-block in the way of peace. Dunfermline and Loudon were commanded by his Majesty to present to the Parliament Traquair's submission, which that nobleman had laid before the King, who kept the original in his own possession, sending a copy to the Parliament, with this message, that his Majesty would, if acceptable, transmit the original. In that paper, Traquair submits himself to the House with all possible respect, and expresses unfeigned regret that any statements or actions of his should have given discontent to the Parliament of Scotland, and he concludes by expressing his willingness to withdraw himself from Court, and from all public employments, until the King and the Parliament demanded his services again. Dunfermline and Loudon exhibited this submission to the Parliament, saying, that " if the same were acceptable, as they hoped it would, the principal would be sent in all haste, and that if they would grant his Majesty's desire he would take it as a very great demonstration of the affection of his people, and as a singular testimony of the Parliament's respect to his Majesty." Besides this ample submission, the Commissioners presented a declaration, signed by Traquair, in which he met certain rumours that had reached him of Walter Stewart's depositions. It appears that John

Stewart had reported to this worthy some expressions indicative of Argyle's designs against the Monarchy, which Walter carried with him to Court. Upon this point he had been examined by the Committee of Estates, when he declared, that in a paper given by "Mr John Stewart to me, to be carried to my Lord Traquair, it was said, that some of my Lord Argyle's men had said, 'King Stewart has reigned long enough, King Campbell must reign time about.'"* He adds, in the same declaration, "I acknowledge that my Lord Traquair gave me direction to assure Sir Thomas Stewart, and Mr John Stewart, that if they would put under their hands that which they had spoken of my Lord Argyle, and make it appear to be true, that each of them should have two hundred pounds Sterling of pensions,—I mean that which was spoken by my Lord at the ford of Lyon,—which I proffered to them, and thereafter they set under their hand that which they had said before they had spoken to me."†

Of all this calumny Traquair had been vaguely informed, and, at the opening of the Parliament, Dunfermline and Loudon also presented,—

"The Earl of Traquair's earnest desire, signed by himself, that the Parliament of the kingdom of Scotland will be pleased to bring him to his trial for what captain Stewart's depositions may seem to concern him, which his Majesty desires may be read to the Committee and to the Parliament.

"It is a great misfortune and unhappiness for me that I cannot conveniently be at this meeting of the Par-

* Original M.S. dated 19th June 1641, and signed, "W. Stewart.—Sr A. Gibsone, I. P. D."

† See another version of this, from Walter Stewart, Vol. i. p. 446–7. See also *infra*, p. 16.

liament of Scotland, before whom (as those whose judgement I shall most willing submit myself unto,) I might clear the truth of all that has passed betwixt Captain Stewart and me. In consideration whereof, and of that duty I owe to Parliament, (who, as I hear, have taken particular notice of his depositions,) and that his follies, or knavery, may neither wrong my innocency nor the truth, I do by these declare, that I had no negotiation with him, concerning public business, but such as was fitting for one who had sworn and subscribed the confession and Covenant of Scotland; and this and all that was herein, betwixt him and me, was upon such generals as I shall be glad, and by these I do most heartily and freely offer myself to the trial and censure of the Parliament of Scotland, for any thing that past betwixt him and me. And if in any thing I shall be found to have departed either from the duty of a good Christian, and one who had subscribed the Covenant, or if therein it shall appear that I have done any thing that may appear factious, or contrary to the happy conclusion of this treaty of peace, let my censure be upon me accordingly. As for these informations he brought first by word, and thereafter by writ, against the Earl of Argyle, they were from (Walter) himself, without either procurement or foreknowledge of mine,—never entertained by me, nor thought I them considerable, as my answer, both to his verbal and written information, (and which I am very confident he cannot deny) will clearly evince. Likeas, I never did so much as take notice thereof to King or subject. What his, or his complices, if any he had, their Plot against the Marquis of Hamilton may be, I know not. I, and divers others, have heard him express foolish and impertinent speeches of the Marquis and others, (but nothing in particular

of him or any other,) and for which he was checked by me, and others to whom he kept the like discourses. It is not for me to descend to particulars, or, at this distance, to offer anything, to the consideration of the Parliament, which by undeniable circumstances will make the truth and ingenuity of my carriage herein appear, and will make him appear either a very weak busy body, or a very great and malicious knave, one or other of which I shall most clearly evince, if his informations and depositions be such as I am made to believe. In the meantime, my humble and earnest suit to the Parliament of Scotland is, that, upon what comes from him, I suffer no further prejudice in their good opinion."

Lord Loudon, it seems, had pressed all these Instructions so faithfully and sincerely, in name of his Majesty, upon the acceptance of the Argyle Parliament, that for an instant the storm of faction was directed against himself. "Divers," says Baillie, "began to misunderstand him, as if he had turned an agent for the King." Loudon appeared to take this much to heart, and not being very anxious to return to the Commission, and the Earl of Dunfermline desirous to look after his own affairs at Court, "Loudon had well near shuffled off a commission to return, which exceedingly had prejudiced us in our common affairs." "This," adds Baillie, "made *Argyle and friends*, yea all, awake; they answered that if his faithfulness none did doubt; that to exoner him of his commission they could not till the treaty were closed; that he behoved to return with the treaty when it was revised, as after some days he did, and he only. As for Dunfermline, *Argyle obtained to him*, some ten days after, that he also should be sent up with some instructions for disbanding of the army." The same chronicler informs us,—"Traquair's submission they rejected."

As for the instruction to pass from all who had been cited, unless some great crimes were proved against them, "they thought meet to suspend a particular answer till it were given to his Majesty in person, or his Commissioner." All this occurred on the 15th of July. On the 16th, the very next day, with a precipitancy that evinced a determination to insult his Majesty and do injustice,—"the Earl of Traquair's charge, containing twenty-six sheets of paper, this day read in the House,"* —and upon the 17th "the incendiaries were called on, by their names, by three macers, at the two bars, and the great door."

The indictment against the Earl of Traquair, doubtless a curious chapter of what may be termed Sir Thomas Hope's Secret Practicks,† is not now known to exist. But we may imagine the outrage to justice, judicial decency, and civilized procedure, that would be committed in that monstrous libel, whose compilation was engendered by Sir Thomas Hope's successor in office, Archibald Johnston, in the manner we have disclosed. Traquair of course never did obtain a fair trial, any more than Montrose and the rest of the Plotters. When the Argyle faction triumphed over Charles at that fatal crisis, the noblemen and gentlemen whom they persecuted were ungraciously released, and the violent charges against them bequeathed to history in the cloudy form of their original conception. At the time, Traquair was not suffered to right himself, before his peers and his country, and from that hour to this has never been fairly heard in his own defence. It is time that he should. When we consider how much of

* See before, Vol. i. p. 350.

† In the department of law, Sir Thomas Hope is well known as the author of Major Practicks and Minor Practicks.

this calumny rests upon the character of Montrose, and that all the horrid imputations of projected assassinations and massacres,—which some modern historians have woven into their dark narratives against the principal subject of these illustrations,—depend upon that calumnious obscurity, it is of great importance to his memory also, to dispel in every direction the phantasma of the Plot.

I have been so fortunate as to discover a fragment of Traquair's defence, which throws considerable light upon this subject. There is among the Wodrow papers, part of an original manuscript, which that collector describes, in his index, as,—" part of the answers of to his lybell about his concern with the M. of Montrose." The blank indicates that Wodrow had not discovered the name of the party defending himself. There can be no question, however, that the manuscript is a few pages of Traquair's reply to the libel of twenty-six sheets. And this, too, is singular, that the fragment, thus accidentally preserved, happens to commence precisely at the reply to the charge of a plot with Montrose.

### Fragment of Traquair's Defence.

" The fifteenth article charges me for being instigator, at least art and part, of certain treasonable plots with the Earl of Montrose, and others, for subverting the acts of the late Parliament, and for subverting the late treaty, and for having laboured to suborn and corrupt witnesses, treasonably to have accused or surprised some of the principal nobility, as is inforced and proven by Lieutenant-Colonel Stewart's characters, tablets, and depositions. And in this same article some presumptions

are adduced to prove the truth, at least the probability, of these characters, tablets, and depositions, and of the said Lieutenant's his ingenuous and true dealing, as proceeding from remorse of conscience, and after solemn oath. The informer of my process labours much to make this appear. But if he had been no more able to take him out of the summons than to evince this point with reason, he had been in this same condition his folly, if not knavery, has left us, and for which good service he is *so well rewarded.*

" But all this great structure is built upon so sandy a foundation as the characters, tablets, and depositions, made up by him who has ever been known for a fool, or at least a timid half-witted body, and so, if chosen by the Lord Montrose, and others, for negotiating such deep plots as are alleged in my summons, they have been wonderfully mistaken in their choice. Neither can I be persuaded that, if they had been about any such plot or plots, men of their judgment, and understanding, could have been so far mistaken as to have made use of such a weak and foolish instrument, * for negotiating therein. The foundation, I say, is so slippery, that I shall not have much pain to overthrow the same, and consequently all the building, as shall easily appear by this my subsequent answer, wherein I shall truly and faithfully set down, to the best of my memory, all that past betwixt him and me, concerning any of these particulars wherewith my summons charges me.

" And first, I say, I had no hand with the Earl of Montrose and others in any plot or conspiracy. Neither,

* This character of Walter Stewart, which is to be found no where else, throws additional light upon the nature of the prosecution against " the Plotters."

for any thing is known to me, had he or these others any such plot for reversing the acts of the late Parliament, nor for subverting the treaty then depending. Neither yet did I corrupt, nor deal for corrupting and suborning witnesses. Neither did I receive from Captain Stewart these instructions, alleged sent to me by the Earl of Montrose, and Lord Napier, wherein, under the name of beasts and letters, as is alleged, * they craved that the Offices of Estate should be kept up,—that the same should not be disposed by advice of the Marquis of Hamilton,—to assure the same that, Religion and Liberties being granted, he would crush all his opposers—to assure the Duke and Traquair that Montrose would take them by the hand and lead them through all difficulties. Neither did I ever acquaint his Majesty, neither yet reported to the said Walter that I had acquainted his Majesty therewith. Neither had he any commission, or direction, or answer thereanent, from me. And as I believe these instructions were fancies of his own, so do I believe the 'Tablet' to have been his own, which was never neither helped nor mended by me, or sent down by me. And if any answer be made thereto in his Majesty's name, it was without any warrant or direction of mine, for he had no other direction or warrant from me than these I shall express in my subsequent discourse. So if, notwithstanding of what is alleged by me anent the relevancy of this argument, it shall be found that the Captain's pretended instructions, Tablet, and answers made thereto, will infer a plot to reverse the acts of Parliament, June 1640—to subvert the treaty—to cut off the

* Traquair only had his knowledge of these characters from the libel against him, in which, as in Lord Napier's, all these papers were "prolixly set down."

power of Parliament in time coming—let the author and informer of these instructions, Tablet, and answers, be called to *his* account for the same, and censured and punished accordingly.

"As for the Captain's sending or coming to London, I knew nothing of him nor his coming until I saw him at Whitehall. Neither know I of any other letters he brought to the Duke of Lennox, from Montrose or any other person, except a letter which did import or contain nothing but a civil answer to my Lord Duke's recommendation of me and my particular. Neither did I ever give him any instructions to try out what he could find against the Marquis of Argyle, and, to the best of my memory, M'Lane's name never occurred in any discourse betwixt him and me. But, howsoever, I am most certain he had no direction, by word or writ, to try out any of my Lord Argyle's actions with the said M'Lane by the Earl of Seaforth, or any of the Clan Donald. And if at any time I have said, that so long as the Earl of Argyle was my unfriend I stood in fear to go home to Scotland, as I do not remember any such words to have escaped me, so may it easily be made appear, as it is too notorious, that there were many other reasons to induce me to apprehend the Earl of Argyle's misconceptions of my intentions against him, and of his power, than that the Earl of Argyle might conduce Highland witnesses of the Donalds and Mac-Donalds.

"And whereas my plotting to seduce and suborn false witnesses is offered to be proven by the said Captain Walter's depositions, made upon remorse of conscience and upon his great oath, wherein, as is alleged, he declares that I gave him warrant to offer to Sir Thomas Stewart and Mr John Stewart, to each one of them, a hundred pounds Sterling a year, to set down

under their hands, and so to make good these words alleged to have been spoken by the Earl of Argyle,—I answer, first, that giving, and not granting, that upon his relation and information, made by him to me without any procurement or foreknowledge of mine, I had desired to cause his informers set the same down in writing, that thereby I might be the more able to judge of the probability and certainty of a business of so high a nature, and wherein both King and kingdom were so nearly concerned, I conceive it can never be interpreted to be a seducing of witnesses to have offered a hundred pound Sterling by year to any who should have cleared and discovered so high and damnable a treason. But leaving to dispute this point, I answer, secondly, that if he have made any such declaration, it must have proceeded rather from a cauterized conscience, than from any conscience sensible of its duty either to God or man. For, *upon my honour and conscience*, he had never any such warrant nor commission from me; and I am very confident that the truth of this particular being ripped up, would give just ground and occasion to the honourable Committee to believe, that, as in this he has made up and fancied to himself employments without any ground given him, so may he have done in all the rest of his pretended employments. For as he had never any such warrant nor direction from me, so can I not conceive upon what ground he has made any such motion to Mr John or Sir Thomas Stewart, (if any such did he make,) except it be upon that which he heard or knew to be in debate before my coming from Scotland, and in the time of the Parliament, when I was Commissioner, betwixt Sir Thomas, Mr John Stewart, and me.*

"Sir Thomas at that time moved in his father's name,

* That Traquair did make such an offer, is stated by Malcolm Laing as an unquestionable historical fact. *See Hist. Note* vi. *Vol.* i.

that he might have something from the King in lieu of the feu-duties which are now paid to the Exchequer, and that because, when the action for reduction of infeftments with conversion was intendit by the King's Advocate, and thereupon every man required to pay into the Exchequer *ipsa corpora*, I dealt with Sir Thomas's father not to contest with the King, but did assure him that if he would begin and pay in *ipsa corpora*, and so give good example to others to do the like, I would intercede with his Majesty to give him some pension, or something equivalent to his loss. In the second place, Sir Thomas desired of me, that seeing the Bishopric of Dunkeld was fallen in his Majesty's hands, and that he had been Bailie to the late Bishop, that I would procure to him a new gift of the Bailiery, as also a gift of the Chamberlanry of that Bishopric. At or about that same time, Mr John Stewart came likewise to me, and desired me, that seeing he had been Chamberlain to the late Bishop by my means, he might have a new gift from the King, both of the Chamberlanry and Bailiery thereof. To Sir Thomas Stewart's first proposition, I told him, as I had done before to his father, that whenever any such motion should be made to his Majesty anent his loss, I should not be wanting to do him all the good offices of a friend. As to the proposition anent the Bailiery and Chamberlanry of Dunkeld, I told both him and Mr John Stewart that I did respect them so much that I would willingly engage my credit with my master for either of them in a business of greater consequence than I conceived the Bailiery or Chamberlanry of Dunkeld to be; but that I would not willingly engage myself for either of them in that particular, whereby to displease the other. Whereupon I advised them to agree betwixt themselves, and accord-

ing as they did agree either of them to cede to the other, I should move his Majesty therein. Mr John Stewart came to me, two days before my parting from Edinburgh, and gave me two gifts, yet extant, of the said Chamberlanry and Bailiery, and desired I might procure his Majesty's hand thereto, alledging Sir Thomas would not be displeased therewith. Whereupon I took the gifts from him, and promised that whenever he should send me a certificate under Sir Thomas Stewart's hand, that he had ceded to him, I should intercede with his Majesty to sign the same in his favour. Whereof from that time I never heard any more until Captain Stewart's coming to London, who being acquainted, as it seems, with the foresaid passages, and inclining more to Mr John Stewart than Sir Thomas, did one day, by way of discourse, inquire if I had procured his Majesty's hand to Mr John Stewart's gifts, to whom I replied that I neither had nor would move therein, unless Sir Thomas were satisfied therewith, or that Mr John and he did advise thereupon.

"And as this is the simple truth of what I know in this business, so whatever dealing he had with either of these parties, was without any ground or direction from me, other than what I have here set down. Neither upon his return did he ever motion to me any thing concerning any pension to any of them. Neither did I ever know of these gifts of pensions alleged drawn up by one of the parties themselves, and found in his trunk and cabinet. Neither yet of the offer made by him, and alleged acknowledged, until his depositions and the summons told it me. I remember I have heard him speak of the warrant given for demolishing the King's houses, and withal told it was much regretted by many good men of the kingdom; but

whether it was done by way of commission, or of two commissions, or what way it was done, whether by the Committee of Parliament, I knew it not; neither do I yet know any thing of it more than this summons tells me, nor was I curious to know any thing thereof.

"The bond which his papers or memorandums mentions I had given orders to draw up amongst my Lord Duke's friends, is no better warranted than some other such allegeances whereof I have been challenged heretofore. And why papers, or writings, which he, upon confrontation with some of these parties against whom he has deponed, did acknowledge to have been written by himself, or his own memory as he calls it, why, I say, any such papers, without any other adminicle of witness, or writ or direction from the parties alleged plotters with him, should have more faith, or be more considered, than as fancies or conceptions of the writer, I cannot understand. That such scribblings of his should give a ground for such a pursuit of treason, appears to be without example. For in all his depositions, neither amongst all his papers, is there any thing found alleged directed to me, or from me, but what his own foolish scribblings mentions. The Earl of Montrose Lord Napier, Lairds of Keir and Blackhall, have upon oath declared that he had never any direction from them to me. And if any direction he had at all, or if any discourse passed betwixt him and them, I was not the party to whom he was allowed to communicate the same, as will appear by their depositions.

"The truth of all these things (the charges) is further enforced by a number of presumptions. And first, that he was my cousin and domestic. As both are true, so is it also true, that—'it is a poor kin wherein are not either whore or knave,'—neither am I the first man

of many who have nourished serpents in their own bosoms, and I think my interest of blood and personal kindness to himself, should rather be an argument to prove his ingratitude, than any ways to infer any thing against me. And as to the forty pieces, they were lent money, at his earnest and pressing desire, and, as he then pretended, urgent necessity, whereof I hope justice will see me repaid by him.

"Christianity tells us that nothing befalls to man in this world but by God's providence. All the circumstances of *providence* adduced in this part of the article,* as, the Earl of Montrose's upgiving of Mr John Stewart,—Mr John Stewart's at first confessing nothing upon Walter,—Walter's coming post the next day, and not knowing of Mr John's imprisonment,—his being brought to a confession upon the sight of some riven pieces of paper,—the finding of his instructions and tablets in a cabinet within a trunk from London,—do no ways import any thing against me, for in charity and justice I am obliged to believe what the Earl of Montrose spoke of Mr John Stewart was truth. Mr John Stewart's not naming of the Captain upon his first examination may have proceeded either from the questions made to him, or from his unwillingness, in so dangerous and ticklish times, to bring his friend upon the stage. The Captain's not confessing of any of those things he has since deponed, till his riven papers and characters were found in his trunk, all written with his own hand, and nothing found amongst any of these papers, or any of those trunks and cabinets, of any other man's hand writ-

* Cant and blasphemy had, as usual in a Covenanting process, been made to supply the place of legal evidence, truth, and common sense. "Think on matters against them,"—"be diligent with your lawyers,—pay them largely before hand,"—were precepts of Archibald Johnston that had not been thrown away.

ing, to justify these his fancies and inventions, doth rather evince that his first confession was truth, and that his second was an act of cunning in him, either to conciliate to himself favour, or, at the least, thereby to justify his own imaginations, by which, in all probability, he was like to have suffered if he had not thus justified the same by laying the blame and burden of all upon others.* If the Earl of Montrose, Lord Napier, Lairds of Keir and Blackhall have acknowledged any, or the most part, of his depositions, as that makes good what he and they agree upon, so, upon the other part, their all unanimously agreeing, that neither by word or writ had he any direction from them to me, does clearly evince that what he has deponed concerning his negotiating with me, further than is here set down, is most false.

"This [the charge] is further enforced from the Duke of Lennox† and my carriage. What concerns the Duke of Lennox herein, is to the best of my knowledge made up of a number of untruths, and, I am very confident, the Honourable Committee of Parliament will seriously take to their consideration this injury done to the Duke of Lennox, wherein I conceive him to be so much concerned, as that I will not take upon me to make any particular answer, but in the general I will aver, and am able to make it good, that the Duke of Lennox spake nothing in the Parliament of England either concerning the incendiaries, or procedures of Scotland, but what befitted a good Scots subject, and one who hath the honour to be the first Peer in the kingdom. We may very well acknowledge that he had written a letter to Montrose, and received an

* See Vol. i. p. 456.

† Ibid. p. 359.

answer from him, (the letter being of the same tenor he had written to others, and containing nothing but a fair and general recommendation of me and my particular, as will appear by the letter itself,) but that he has acknowledged that he has seen the Captain's mystic instructions, under the name of Serpent, Elephant, &c. is more than I do believe. But, howsoever, if he has seen, or acknowledged the seeing of any such instructions, it is probable enough that he has given the answer set down in the Captain's depositions, which is, that he would meddle with no such business. And if my offering to speak or write without his own warrant might not argue a presumption, or too great boldness in me, I would offer to justify, with the hazard of my life, that in this and in all his carriage towards this kingdom, his actions have been such as became a faithful servant to his master, and true patriot.

"My carriage is enforced by a number of expressions of mine, made at Court and elsewhere. Wherein appears their unparalleled malice, and neither charity nor Christianity in the informer.* As I never did nor will question the justice and honour of the Parliament, but will and was ever ready with my life and fortune to maintain the true honour, dignities, and privileges thereof, so I hope your justice and goodness is such as to consider, that although, in following my master and his commandments, my actions and courses in these troublesome times have in some things appeared offensive to some,—yet being in this not singular, no not equally guilty with many others, and my punishment and persecution singular and without example,—and so, out of the sense thereof and grief therefore, if at any time I have expressed myself more freely, and pos-

* See Vol. i. p. 358–360.

sibly passionately, charity would have passed by such expressions. But since I must now in a singular way answer singularly for all my actions and *words* herein, not only to the gross, but to the subtle and I may say unjust and unchristian, inferences the informer makes thereupon, I will here set down the truth, to the best of my memory, of all these particular words wherewith I am charged.

"And first, whereas it is alleged that I have said that before I perished I should mix heaven and earth together, I remember so well of all that passed betwixt that party, who is the informer of this,* and me, that I shall not insist to dispute the relevancy thereof, or what it might import, or could infer, if, out of the true sense of my sufferings, I expressed any such things. Neither yet will I recriminate, or obtrude to him *his* words and expressions, (which he used to me at that conference where this discourse should have escaped me,)† which if they were known it would not be thought very strange if I had uttered as much as this comes to. But as his wickedness appears in relating what he must acknowledge to have been spoken in a private discourse, so his averring more than was said, and misconstruing, what was said, to a bad sense or to my prejudice, does clearly manifest his unjust dealing with me, but can infer no more against me than that saying of Juno,—

Flectere si nequeo Superos, Acheronta movebo,—

which Virgil sets down as the passionate expression and relasche of an angry goddess, for, as Ovid says, *tangit et ira Deos.* And yet the poet makes no mention that any of these were called in question, in their *ficti-*

* Archibald Johnston. See Vol. i. p. 360.

† *i. e.* Did, or is said to have escaped me.

*tio Consessu*, for their words; for, as the same Ovid says, *mite Deum numen.* But to leave the Poets to their fictions, I shall conclude this with holy Augustine's true and Christian saying, *væ vitæ quantumvis laudabili si remotâ misericordiâ discutias eam, Domine.** And what shall become of the best man living, if he shall be called to so strict an account of all his words, yea his words spoken in private and in passion, or out of grief, since unwarrantable words have escaped the most holy men in Scripture, as Job and Jeremiah.

"There be a number of other passages of my speeches adduced to infer the same thing, but so far strained, that I can hardly think them worthy the answering. And first, that I have said that if they would not make peace without my ruin, I should cause many ruin before me. I do not remember that ever I said any such word or words. But if I had, (I speak as a natural man,) I see not where the error, far less the treason lies, to strive to ruin those who are the authors or causers of my ruin. And considering that justice should, and I hope shall ever, be in this kingdom alike patent to all, and knowing other men's guilt, of these particulars wherewith I am charged, to be far more than mine, and withal finding divers of them to be main instruments of my ruin, I had just reason to say, and no less reason to rest confident to bring them under the same danger (under which) I was brought; which my forbearing to do should conciliate me more favour than thus to object against me my words, and thus wrest

* This occurs in St Augustine's works, *Confessionum*, Lib. ix. C. 13, in a prayer for the soul of his mother, Monnica. The above varies a little from the original, which is,—*et væ etiam laudabili vitæ hominum, si remota misericordia discutias eam;* but the sense is the same,—"wo worth the holiest life of man, if, without mercy, thou were to judge it, Lord." Compare this with Archibald Johnston's style of Christian sentiment.

them to a wrong and unchristian sense. I am still hopeful that my own innocence, and the justness of my cause, shall procure me more friends than foes, and so much do I confide therein, that whether the army were disbanded, or whatever condition it be in, I wish with all my heart, those who have, and in reason should have most power therein, were joined judges of my cause, with the honourable Lords of the Committee.

" That no subject should take or intromit with my escheat, or that, if the Parliament should have offered to take my head, I would have forty thousand men to take me from the bar,—are such senseless discourses, that I cannot spend time to answer them. I conceive myself not so contemptible a subject as that any other subject will offer to meddle with any thing that is mine, but by order of law, and as I have ever been to my uttermost power a maintainer of all legal courses, so desire I nothing more than that I and all my actions may be judged by the laws of the kingdom. And as for the forty thousand men should rescue me from the bar, this, I believe will prove an error in the writer, neither was I ever so foolish as to think it was in the power of any subject to bring such numbers of men together. Nor could I ever believe, before my summons told it me, that any man could make such inferences, upon any such discourses, as that thereby the Commissioners were dishonoured, or that thereby my confidence in this alleged plot did appear. I never hoped, neither yet wished to see the time wherein any subject should give the law to others ; far less did I ever say any such thing. But if I have either hoped or wished better times to myself, wherein I might have as much power to maintain my right and just cause, and to vindicate

myself from the malice and oppression of my enemies, as my enemies now have to work my prejudice, it is a very venial fault—*sperandum est vivis*—and I never heard nor read that any man was blamed for hoping the best for, or to, himself; but if his hopes were groundless all the punishment that was to ensue, that as they were groundless, so also fruitless.

"If at any time I did affirm that I had accusations against sundry noblemen in writ, or did aver to the Lord Lithgow, and Sir William Stewart, that some noblemen in Scotland had said there would never be peace in Scotland so long as there were a Stewart living, or that if I were not passed from, I would recriminate, &c., the reason thereof has been that these informers against me,—whose conscience behoved to tell them of that whereof I know them guilty,—might thereby be persuaded to relent of their malice against me, when they should hear that I could inform or recriminate, and yet was so desirous of peace as not to do it. And as hitherto I have forborne to recriminate in particular, or to bring any man's name on the stage, either for his actions or speeches, but with all humility to justify myself, and clear the innocency of my own intentions and actions, so, if the honourable Committee of Parliament think fitting, and be desirous to know the truth and grounds of these discourses, and particulars of that discourse to the Earl of Lithgow, and Sir William Stewart, I shall truly and faithfully depone what I know therein, for my informers will not deny their informations to me.

"The King's own justice and goodness, sense of his own honour, and care of his servants, made him stick much for passing the act of oblivion without any exception, and if at any time he has used this as an argu-

ment,—that if they would except such or so many of those whom they conceived opposers of them, and their business, he would except and reserve to himself the like number of those whom at that time he conceived to be of the contrary opinions with him,—'tis nothing else than that which might justly have been expected from a gracious King and kind master. And as I was neither the inventor nor divulger thereof, so can I not conceive that, although I had moved his Majesty to use any such argument, to have exeemed or excepted some few particular persons, whereby to have facilitated to myself the like benefit of the act of oblivion, it should conclude against me an *act of treason* against the State,—except we will conclude and acknowledge that these few persons are so essential, as individual members of the State, that the State cannot subsist without them, which I hope is more than they will assume to themselves, or than the Estates will ever allow of. Neither do I see how any man's pressing to keep these persons under the lash, whom they supposed were the causes of their danger, (that thereby out of the sense of their own hazard they might be the more ready to yield and cede to the liberation and freedom of others,) neither how the pressing of any such fair and just courses, if any such had been, for a man's own safety, should suffer the interpretation of making division betwixt the King and his people, [or] evince any truth of the Captain's instructions anent sending up of informations against [Argyle and Rot]hes, or that I should not only have been a receiver, but suborner or urger of these [informations ag]st Argyle and Rothes. For first, in all that ever passed betwixt the Captain and me, there is not [neither wi]ll there be found to have been any men-

tion of Rothes.* Secondly, what I have said is * * * * *† and so cannot be applied to any particular of Captain Stewart's tab[lets] * * * plots, especially seeing, as said is, if the Committee of Parliament shall think [fit to order me] to condescend upon particulars, I am willing, in obedience to their commands, to express myself [therein. And] whereas it is libelled that during my abode at Court, I was making motions * * * * * * * * * the country should make bonds amongst themselves, &c. This phrase, making mo[tions, is an] illegal and unusual expression in a criminal summons; yet for satisfaction of * * * * * I will declare the truth, and that I was so far from moving for any such bonds, that none yet studied more to remove all occasions of making of bonds, and to the uttermost of my power [did la]bour, that all divisions and distractions might be removed; wherein I appeal to the conscience [and know-] ledge, both of councillors and others who best know the truth of all that passed at Court. Mr John Stewart's

* Walter Stewart deponed upon oath, that besides the paper containing the reference to Argyle's treasonable ambition, (see p. 6,) he had carried another paper to Court, of which he gives this account: "It was said in the other letter, that my Lord Rothes sould have said, he feared, if the name of Stewart hold on the course they were in, that they would ruin themselves, and the King with the first; and that he sould have (*i. e.* had) written a letter to Mr John Stewart, desiring him not to rely upon my Lord Traquair, for, come war come peace, he would never be a Scotchman. This is all I can remember of that was contained in the said two papers, delivered by Mr John Stewart to me, to be carried up to Court, to my Lord Traquair, as said is, and which I delivered to my Lord Traquair accordingly. This which I have set down, does noways oblige me to prove the same, or that I am anyways accessory thereto, seeing I have only done it at command of the Committee from Parliament, who desired me to set down the truth and verity of the same, in so far as I could remember thereanent."—*Original MS. Signed*, W. Stewart.

† Some parts of the manuscript are destroyed.

depositions cannot concern any part of this article, whereby the informer * * * * * * would inforce and prove my accession to Captain Stewart's plots and characters, or * * * * * Montrose's pretended plots, &c.; for it is notorious that since my parting from Scot[land, I had] no correspondence with Mr John Stewart, except what is set down before in this answer, and * * * * * * by Captain Stewart. And if before my parting from Scotland, I have desired [that the Earl of] Athol should forbear subscribing of bonds, although I do not remember of any such discourse, I see not that there was any error to have done so."

The remainder of the fragment is much torn, but the substance is, that Traquair disclaims all knowledge of any such leagues until his summons informed him. He adds, that "the Covenant requires us to defend our Religion, Laws, Liberties, and the King's sacred person and authority, and each other," in maintaining the same, and seems earnestly and emphatically to say he had no other object.

This able and gentlemanly defence is but the reply to the fifteenth article in the summons against Traquair, and judging from that specimen, and the nature of the prosecution, we may be well assured, that, in so far as reason, truth, and eloquence were availing against an unprincipled pursuit, the covenanting libel, of six-and-twenty sheets, was utterly destroyed.

## CHAPTER II.

THE PROCESS AGAINST THE PLOTTERS, AND LORD NAPIER'S DEFENCE FOR THEM.

As the secret history of Montrose's "defection" had been unexplored, historians have hitherto assumed that the occasion of his imprisonment in 1641 was the Cumbernauld bond;* and as the terms of that document were also unknown, a general impression, (derived from such allusions to it as we find in Baillie,) has prevailed, that there was something desperate, violent, and even treacherous in the measure, which therefore fell of necessity under the lash of covenanting law. We have shown, however, that the bond was something totally different. Though suggested by a sudden and well-grounded suspicion of the Argyle bonds, it was perfectly temperate in its expressions, and, though loyal in its object and principles, was sincerely covenanting in the only respectable sense of that term. But we have also shown that Montrose was not imprisoned for this act at all. The bond had been burnt, and all hope of destroying Montrose upon that pretext abandoned, before "the Plot" was made a new source of agitation against him. Walter Stewart's false depositions afford-

* See Burnet, as quoted before, (Vol. i. p. 469,) also Hume, Vol. vii. p. 44. Sir Walter Scott's Tales of a Grandfather, Vol. i. p. 421. Edit. 1836. Mr Laing and Mr Brodie, who both rely upon Burnet, give the history of this crisis in Montrose's life, with the air of historians condensing superabundant information, while in reality they are riding rough-shod over facts in their want of knowledge of the details.

ed the pretext for confining Montrose under a vague charge of leasing-making; but no more could at this moment be attempted, for John Stewart's confession had completely exonerated the Earl from the statutory offence, and Walter Stewart's evidence was so palpably false, that the faction knew it would not bear the most partial inspection.

This being the true *species facti* of Montrose's imprisonment,—notwithstanding the uninformed assertion of Hampden's biographer, that it was for "a complication of proved offences of the highest sort,"—the question occurs, by what means then were the faction enabled to keep him in solitary confinement, for the best part of a twelvemonth, upon so baseless a charge, and one which involved some of themselves in the very highest and most malignant species of the crime wherewith they charged him? The answer is, that a total disregard of truth, of every principle of substantial justice, and every rule of established law—a course of procedure the most tyrannical and unprincipled that ever took the sacred names of Religion and Liberty in vain,—alone enabled them to do so.

Immediately on the meeting of Parliament, the young Lords Erskine and Fleming appeared for Montrose and Keir, and the young Master of Napier on the part of his father, in support of their respective petitions, to be heard in their own defence. It was far from the object of the faction, however, that their case should be brought to that fair and speedy conclusion, unless it could have been disposed of as John Stewart's was, and then, probably, it would have been concluded on the same scaffold. It was objected that the Petitions were not signed, and the reply that they were all in the handwriting

of the parties themselves, and that the young noblemen presenting them held respectively a mandate, signed by each party, to appear for them, was disregarded. In the afternoon, however, they produced the same petitions signed by Montrose and the rest, when the Estates pronounced for answer, that they would hear the Petitioners when they, the Estates, thought it expedient. Montrose solicited the House to grant warrant for himself, Napier and Keir to meet, in presence of the Constable of the Castle, and consult together for their common defence. Napier urged the equitable request, that nothing should be done to prejudice the House against any of them in their absence, until they had been allowed an opportunity of clearing themselves. The answer was, that the House would take all these petitions to their consideration in due time, and at their most convenient leisure. In the meantime, however, voluminous "articles,"—no doubt mightily improved by the industry of Archibald Johnston, who was so anxious to "win down to prepare matters,"—had been concocted against Montrose, Napier and the rest, which, after a keen debate, were voted and ordained to be read publicly in the House, "*extra incarceratorum presentiam*," that is to say, in absence of the accused, contrary not merely to the petition of Lord Napier, but to the most obvious and essential rule of justice fortified by the act 1587.

On the 23d of July, "queries against the Plotters," digested from the articles produced the day preceding, were read, and the question was moved, whether these articles were a sufficient ground of citations against them? The House, in the afternoon, found "after much debate and reasoning," by voices, that there was sufficient ground of citation against the Plotters, in these articles, and ordained them to be cited to answer before

the Parliament, and the King's Advocate to pursue, and concur with the Advocates of the Estate, for the prosecution of the same.

These articles of impeachment I have not discovered. But among the manuscripts of the Advocates' Library, there is an original draft of the queries that were read out to the Parliament, and these it will be necessary to lay before the reader, in order fully to illustrate this infamous prosecution.

"1. Whether in law and equity there be a sufficient ground for citation of perjury in the oath of the Covenant, oath at the receiving of the charge of the Committee, oath at the subscribing of the band of maintenance, which is instanced, besides many other particulars, in the Articles. By his divisive motions, by his false accusations of the Committee of Estates of perjury, by his underhand dealing contrary to his public subscription, and public course of the Committee, by his seeking particular preferment contrary to public warrant, by his delaying of his companies to the great prejudice of the public, by his Plots, without the knowledge of the Estate or General, for disbanding our army, by his intelligence with the enemy, by raising division betwixt the nobility and Committee of Estates, by his dealing for Traquair contrary to his public oath, and protestation.

"2. Whether in law and equity there is sufficient ground for a citation of a leasing-maker and leasing-teller, which may engender discord betwixt the King and his people, especially when the lies are invented and vented against a Parliament, and the Committees thereof, as intending to depose the King, or to destroy his

royal authority, as is more largely instanced in the 2d article.

" 3. Whether in law and equity there be sufficient ground of citation of any who enters in treaty of combination and friendship with a notorious enemy of the State, avowed and declared so often by the Estates, and by him as one of the members of the Estate. The particulars hereof are largely set down in the 3d article.

" 4. Whether in law and equity there be a sufficient ground for citation of any who has used dishonourable and reproachful speeches of the King's majesty, and of his government, as is largely instanced in the 4th article.

" 5. Whether in law and reason there be sufficient ground for citation of any person who has combined with the avowed and public enemy of the State, for reversing of some acts of the last Parliament, and articles of the treaty, notwithstanding of the subscribing the band of maintenance and public instructions contrary thereto, as is largely instanced in the 5th article.

" 6. Whether in law and reason there be sufficient ground for citation of any person who procures the diminution and innovation of the dignity and authority of Parliament, whereof the particulars are instanced in the 6th article.

" 7. Whether there be sufficient ground in law and reason for citing before the Parliament such contumacious persons as will noways answer unto, nor acknowledge, the Committee of Estates, as is more largely set down in the 7th article.

" 8. Whether there be a sufficient ground for citing any who, contrary to their oath and subscription, practises and intercommunes with the avowed enemy of the State, as is more largely instanced in the 8th article."

" In regard of all these articles, there can be no question of the sufficient grounds for citation of the said Earl of Montrose."*

Such was the *farrago* of violent assumptions, unwarrantable inferences, and positive untruths, which, in the face of all that their own investigations had brought out contradictory of these malicious charges, was voted in the covenanting Parliament of 1641 as " sufficient ground" for citing Montrose and his friends to their bar as delinquents and traitors !

The question having been disposed of according to Argyle's notions of law and equity, and the Parliament now completely prejudiced against the accused in their absence, the Earls of Mar and Wigton, on the 27th of July, moved, that " the Plotters in the Castle " might be heard, in terms of their petitions. After some debate, the question was put, " when and how the prisoners in the Castle should be heard ?" and it was carried that they should be heard publicly in the House, in the afternoon, Montrose first, then Napier, and lastly, Keir ; but they were " to abstain from particulars, or speaking any thing in the cause." The following scene then occurred, which we extract from the original record of this inquisitorial convention. †

The Earl of Montrose declared in presence of the

* Orig. MS. entitled, " Grounds of citation of Montrose." It was applied to all the Plotters, however, and so read in Parliament against them.

† There has been lately deposited in the Register-House, Edinburgh, the original Record of such of the acts and proceedings of the rescinded Parliaments, from the year 1640 to 1651, as they were not ashamed to put in writing. This was not known to exist until very recently, when five volumes of it were found in the State Paper Office, London. (See the evidence of Thomas Thomson, Esq., in the Report of the Record Commission, 1836.) It is from this MS. Record that the scene of the ap-

Lords of Parliament, that he had formerly desired to be heard, that he might know the command or pleasure of the Estates, to which he would endeavour to give all the satisfaction in his power. It was answered to him, that the present hearing had been granted upon his supplication often presented and pressed in Parliament, and that the Estates now permitted him to say what he thought fit to propone to them. Upon which Montrose declared, that albeit some great imputations be laid to his charge, yet he is so confident of his own innocency that he will not *deprecate* but *supplicate* for justice and trial. The Estates, having advised therewith, declared that they will take to their consideration what course next to adopt in the matter, and in the meantime command my Lord to return to the Castle. This being pronounced to Montrose, he declared that in all humility he received the sentence of the Parliament, and expected, confidently, justice in all their proceedings. It was then determined that a citation on fifteen days was sufficient time, and that Montrose be cited accordingly.

Lord Napier was next heard in support of his supplications. He declared he had done nothing against the law of God, or nature, or municipal law, and if the contrary should be tried, he submitted himself in all humility to the censurement of the House, but desired them to be careful, that in their proceedings nothing might be done derogatory to the glory of the Scottish Nation. Whereupon the Estates remanded him back again to the Castle till he were insisted against according to justice.

pearance of Montrose and the rest before the Parliament, given in the text, is derived. Balfour in his MS. had only left a meagre and malicious account, in which it is very obvious that he had no desire to do justice to the demeanour of the Plotters.

Sir George Stirling then appeared before them. He declared that, ever since the beginning, he had heartily joined in the good cause, and had never swerved from the straight way of advancing the same, and if any suspicions were now against him, he hoped to purge himself thereof, and in the meantime desired the Estates to suspend any prejudicial opinion of him till he were tried ; and craved that when summoned, he should have liberty to meet with Montrose and Napier, that they might advise together upon their common defence. To which the Estates replied that they would proceed legally according to [covenanting] justice, and when, after citation, any supplication were exhibited, the same should receive an answer.

It would seem that Sir Archibald Stewart did not make his appearance upon this occasion, for all that the record says of him is that it was voted by the Estates, that Sir Archibald Stewart of Blackhall shall be committed to the Castle, and accordingly a warrant was subscribed by the Preses of the Parliament for that effect. This would seem to say that Blackhall had obtained some relaxation of his confinement, and was again sent back. Baillie in his Journal of the Parliament 1641, throws a little more light on the subject. " In the afternoon" (27 July,) he says, " Montrose, Napier, and Keir were heard ; Blackhall was voiced to have a chamber in the Castle. The reason of his liberty was thought to be *Argyle's favour*, to whom, they said, he made confession of sundry of the Plotters' mysteries." The historians inimical to Montrose always appeal to Baillie. But this is one of many indications that he was not behind the scenes of the Covenant. Blackhall's depositions differ in no material degree from those of his fellow prisoners, and completely contradict those points of Walter Stew-

art's evidence, upon which the libel was mainly founded. It is not unlikely, however, when we consider the scene with Lord Napier, that some attempt was made to tamper with Blackhall, though certainly it did not succeed, as he was ultimately cited with the rest.

Archibald Johnston's instruction to make every exertion to insure the success of their prosecutions by monopolizing the strength of the bar, was particularly attended to. The Lord Advocate Hope, Sir Thomas Nicholson, and Messrs Nicholson, Mowat, Pearson and Baird, were ordained to draw up and pursue the summonses against the Plotters. On the 29th of July (the day after John Stewart's execution,) Montrose petitioned the House that Sir Lewis Stewart, and Messrs Nisbet and Gilmore, should be appointed of counsel for him, and that he might meet and confer with Napier and Keir. The House took this petition to consider until the next day, and in the meantime ordained Nisbet and Gilmore to go to Montrose and counsult with him. On the following day the Lords Erskine and Fleming present another petition from the Earl, that Sir Lewis Stewart should be commanded to consult and plead for him, that he, Montrose, might be allowed to consult with his fellow prisoners, and that the fifteen free days, on which they were cited, should reckon from the period of consultation with their counsel. Upon this petition a debate ensued, and, by a plurality of voices, it was determined, that any advocates not appointed for the State, should, if required, consult with Montrose, but as for pleading that was taken to consideration. The Plotters, however, were not to meet together until they were cited, and until a committee had reviewed the processes against them, and had determined whether there were any more "interrogatories

to pose them on ;" and, it was added, after expiry of the first fifteen days the House would consider the question as to the time of compearance. It was also decreed that the accused were bound to answer *all interrogatories* that the Committee proponed to them, even *after their citation.**

Baillie records, that, upon the occasion of this audience, Montrose " having ended, they sent him back again to the Castle, and heard read a very odious libel against him, whereupon they voiced him to be cited to answer within fifteen days." The libel against Montrose, or any answer he may have put in writing, I have not been so fortunate as to discover. But there can be no doubt that the queries quoted before contain the epitome of that *procès monstre,* and the unprincipled character of the pursuit will be sufficiently illustrated by the notes of Lord Napier's defence for the whole party, written with his own hand, in his solitary prison. Let it be remembered that the Committee of Estates, in their private examination of Napier, had actually admitted his innocency, complimented him greatly on the integrity of his whole life, and urged him to accept a *private* acquittal. The result of his spirited and honourable rejection of their favour will be further seen from the following defences, with which he was nevertheless constrained to meet the libel againt him.

* It is essential to the credit of that peculiar species of evidence, which is derived from the declaration of the accused previous to trial, that it shall have been his own free and advised act. He ought to be warned, when so examined, that what he may then say will be used against him at his trial, and he ought to be informed of his privilege to refuse to answer. The Argyle government of Scotland reversed all the golden rules of justice, in their criminal processes. They read the charge in absence of the pannel,—endeavoured to extort from his own mouth the case against him,—and virtually made conviction take precedency of probation.

"MEMORANDUM."

"To desire an advocate,—to preserve privilege of a Scots subject,—who by the law may have procurators even in cases of treason,*—and not for us, for we intend to plead for ourselves, and be sufficiently able to do it in so honest a cause. Then to say to the Estates, that we think ourselves happy to speak for ourselves before the honourable court, where are so many men of judgement and honour and conscience, and where, we are confident, neither passion nor partiality reigneth, and where malice, spleen, and envy, if any be, shall be ruled and overswayed.† Then, when the libel is read, we shall say, that we wonder extremely how our cause comes to be joined and made out with Traquair's, there being no relation nor affinity betwixt them, but a direct contrariety, for he is cited as an incendiary, and it shall appear that the drift of all our endeavours was to quench the flame, and to extinguish the combustion. But it is to make us odious, and savours too much of spleen. Then to divide the libel, and say that we are charged with a deed done, and with ways unwarrantable for the doing the same. To answer for the deed by making a true relation of our three meetings, and complainings for the state of the country, of our judgements for the remead, and our employment of Walter Stewart, the

* This, as well as the debates upon Montrose's reiterated petitions, proves that it was with great difficulty Montrose and his friends obtained the benefit of that clause of the act 1587, which says, (and to which Napier appears to allude,)—"that all and whatsoever lieges of this realm, accused of treason, or for whatsoever crime, shall have their advocates and procurators to use all the lawful defences, whom the Judge shall compel to procure for them."

† This was a figure of speech, by which his Lordship pictured the court rather as it ought to have been than as it was.

sum and extent whereof we shall prove out of Wat's papers, and the King's answer made to all our desires. After ample relation of the same we shall refer to the Estates to judge whether or no this deed of ours, considered simply without the circumstances, be not allowable."

Accordingly, that distinct relation, of the full extent of the conservative Plot, is among these manuscripts, as already quoted in a previous chapter of our illustrations.* And we find, moreover, the following admirable reply to every charge contained in the dishonest libels against the Plotters.

"1. The first thing imputed to us is perjury, as contravening our oath at our admission upon the Committee, and our subscription of the general band, by which oaths and subscription we stand bound to entertain no divisive motion to the prejudice of the Estate, but to use all lawful means to promote the public good. Yet (it is said) we have entertained divisive motions, in so far as we sent, with Lieutenant Walter, instructions to the prejudice of the State, to Traquair, that the Offices might be kept up, without the knowledge of the Committee in a private and clandestine way, and that an act of pacification and oblivion should be made whereby we intended to free the incendiaries from their intended punishments.

"To which it is answered :—A commission was given by the Parliament to a certain number, whereof we were, to manage the affairs of the State, and to do the country their best service; which commission did not bar any private subject from doing what he could for

* Vol. i. p. 420.

the country's good. Our dealing in a private way, unless it be to the prejudice of the State, and cross the public proceedings, is neither a divisive motion, nor unlawful. Having sworn to use our best means for securing our Religion and Liberty, if we had neglected this private way,—which has been in some degree a means to further his Majesty's presence, by which our Religion and Liberty are both secured, and wherein, if anything be omitted conducing thereto, it is not *his Majesty's fault*,—we had, far rather, been perjured. We have hazarded our lives, and spent our means, for our Religion and Country, as much as any others, and have not withdrawn ourselves from them, but expressed in our dealing the same desire with them, so that we have not divided from them to the prejudice of the public in desiring his Majesty to come hither, unless they will say that they did not desire it, and then they have left us and the Covenant, and not we them. Neither is it to be blamed because it was done without the Committee's knowledge. It must either have been so, or not at all. For the means we used was the Duke of Lennox, a nobleman without exception, sound in the Protestant religion, and in his affection to his Majesty, and to his Country, who in the beginning of these troubles did give his Majesty good and wholesome counsel, and never to this hour spoke or did anything to the prejudice of the Cause or the Country. Him the Committee had never made use of in all their affairs, but, on the contrary, had used with some disrespect, and therefore it was not likely they would have used him in this, nor that he would have accepted this employment, being in all others neglected. * Neither had any

* This character of James Duke of Lennox and Richmond is thus slightly varied, on a different scrap of paper, in Lord Napier's hand-writing :—

such motion been acceptable from these, and so that worthy action would have been crossed. Neither is it a divisive motion, but rather a conjunct one, for it was the very same the Committee did enjoin their commissioners to persuade, and to which the said parties concurred, and set to their hand with the rest, and, besides, did use their own private means to the same purpose.* Neither was it therefore unlawful, because it was private, but had been so if it had tended to the prejudice

"The Duke of Lennox, a nobleman sound in his religion, well affected to the country, one who did give the King good counsel in the beginning of this business, and, *not being followed*, did never do us prejudice, nor our cause, by word or deed." It is interesting to compare the above with the characteristics of Lennox, so well known to the world in the writings of Clarendon. Of these we can only afford to quote the following:—"He was a man of honour and fidelity in all places, and in no degree of confidence with his countrymen, because he would not admit himself into their intrigues." He escaped the scaffold as if by a miracle, for with all his dignified repose of character, his spirit was chivalrous, and his magnanimous love for his master ever unshaken and unconcealed. At his own request he was suffered to lay the mangled remains of Charles in his hidden tomb, and then retired to indulge that sorrow of which in a few years he died. There is a celebrated picture of him by Vandyke, in the attitude of being roused from repose by a favourite dog, which, it is said, had thus saved him from a midnight assassin, and was honoured in consequence with a collar set with pearls. The original of the following beautiful letter from this Duke's widowed mother to James VI., the promise of which was not belied, is preserved in the Advocates' Library.

"My Sovereign Lord: According to your Majesty's gracious pleasure signified unto me, I have sent a young man to attend you, accompanied with a widow's prayers, and tears, that he may wax old in your Majesty's service, and, in his fidelity and affection, may equal his ancestors departed. So shall he find grace and favour in the eyes of my Lord the King, which will revive the dying hopes, and raise the dejected spirits of a comfortless mother.

"Your Majesty's most humble Servant,

"Ka. Lennox."

* Montrose and Napier's "private practising" will certainly stand a comparison with what we have exposed in the correspondence of Archibald Johnston.

of our Religion or Liberty, to the good of which it contributed not a little. Neither are all private ways unlawful, for we are obliged, by the law of God and nature, to maintain our Religion, and the Liberty of our country, by all means, private or public. Neither do I see how a public employment takes away our obligation to perform our private endeavours, authorised and warranted by the law of God, unless we will say that the law of man will derogate from the law of God, which is blasphemy,—*hoc oportet agere et illud non omittere*, — we ought to do the one, and not omit the other. If a councillor be sworn to maintain the King's person, estate, and authority, and to concur with the rest to do it, may not he, if a conspiracy against the person of the King be revealed to him, discover it to the King unless the rest be made acquainted? If a minister, admitted and sworn to teach the gospel publickly, teaches any man privately the same doctrine, is he perjured? If any of these parties had been at London, and in person advised his Majesty to give his people satisfaction in point of Religion and Liberty, would it have been a crime deserving so sharp punishment, or any crime at all, notwithstanding that there was a Committee at Edinburgh, another at Newcastle, and Commissioners at London? I think not. How then come they to be blamed for doing that same by the mediation of another more powerful, they being absent?

"As to the keeping of Offices undisposed of till his Majesty's coming, that might have been done, and yet his Majesty used the advice of his Parliament. So their advice in that was in favour of the Parliament. But, (says the libel) it was given that they might possess themselves of these places! And yet so

far doth the lying libeller forget himself, as thereafter he says, that they gave that advice that by these Offices others might have been corrupted! How then could they both desire them themselves, being but three or four, and desire also that other men might have them? It is a mere calumny. We never dealt with his Majesty for office nor benefit, but merely out of respect to our duty to him and our country. And that we sold our voices, for any respect, *is as false as God is true.* We desired the King to forbear disposing of the Offices till himself came,—therefore we thought to have them ourselves,—we desired to have them ourselves,—therefore we sold our voices to get them,—these are inferences of malice, as far contrary to logic as truth. To desire Offices, for our own good or to prevent our enemies, is not, simply, ill or unfit, we being men made of the same wood that those in office are made of. But to desire them for prejudice to the King or country, or to oppress thereby his Majesty's subjects, or to compass them by selling our voices, and so our consciences, that is the fault. But if ever we motioned either office or benefit for ourselves in any sort, we are content that all be true they say.

"As for the act of oblivion, which they say was urged to free the incendiaries, if the parties questioned had intended to have any other act of oblivion passed than was conceived by the Committee, then certainly they would have drawn up the tenor of it. If they had intended to free the incendiaries, they would have desired that exception of incendiaries contained in the act to have been expunged out of it. And if they desired the act to be passed in the terms the Committee conceived it, where is the fault?

"2. It is said that we have combined and entered in

friendship with an enemy to the State. And to prove this there is prolixly set down all Lieutenant Stewart's characters found about him, and alleged to be instructions from Montrose and the rest. To answer to which :

" Traquair was called an incendiary, and supposed to have done ill offices, but was not yet tried, or declared to be so. He was not excommunicated.—The subjects were not discharged intercommuning with him, nor any thing done to put them in *mala fide* to deal with him. Neither was it ill done of our Commissioners to deal with him to gain some point of advantage for our affairs, (as I believe that was their end,) till they were discharged.* But why do I trouble myself and others to defend an action which was never either thought or done by us. And if that be true, *as it is most true*, then is Dagon fallen before the Ark, and that great Colossus of theirs, got out and enlarged with all the railing and lying art and eloquence possible, and reared up for vulgar adoration, fallen to the ground. As for the Lieutenant's characters, it did import *us* nothing to carry things in clouds which were justifiable before God and man.† But it concerned *him* much, that had made a memorial of all the surmises and whisperings he had heard here, to make his use of them there, wherein there was certainly a great deal of vanity in the man, to shew what good intelligence he had of the state of affairs, and of men's affections here, and how handsomely he had covered his intelligence, so as might make him appear an able

* *i. e.* Prohibited.

† It is manifest that, as the head and front of their offending was their private dealing, apart from the Committee, it would have added to their danger, and not to their security, to have given instructions in this mystical form to their emissary.

man, and fit for employments of greatest consequence. For that these characters were his own invention appears by this one,—' to try if reik aims upwards,'—that is, if Keir seeks preferment.* If any of the parties had told him so, then it might be supposed that they either invented or assented to that. But that is denied by himself, and if it were so, he would not have set it down doubtingly, or to try it, but confidently, without if or and. To charge then the parties questioned with these characters wherein they had no hand, nor anyways concerned their business, or his employment from them, it savours of *spleen and malice*, more than of *justice* or *care of the public*.

" 3. To the third, whether I shall answer or no I know not ; no school-boy could reason so scurvily ; and even if it were not against these parties towards whom the libeller carries so great malice as blinds the eye of his reason, and eclipses his judgment and learning, he might justly be suspected of prevarication. In *this* business it convicts him of malice, and lying against his own knowledge and conscience. For if it be true, as is alleged, that these parties desired the King to keep up the Offices that they might get them for themselves, and that they have perjured themselves, and combined with Traquair, (who is one, if he were never so ill otherways, that loves the King,) for their own ends, is this a way to compass them, to speak disrespectfully of his Majesty ! † And is it likely that Montrose would offer his service to the King, at one word, and at the next, speak disdainfully of him ! But what are the words ? ' Let not L drink water unless he pro-

* See before, Vol. i. p. 459.

† Lord Napier had great reason to be indignant at this charge, the ridiculous dishonesty of which was very characteristic of the faction.

mise not to cast it up.' The comparison (forsooth) is reproachful, and a leasing! As if the greatest and most precious things in the world may not, in a simile, be compared, in some things, to the vilest, without reproach to the best. And how it is made a *leasing* is beyond my reach. These excellent wits can make any thing out of any thing. That the word *let* is always imperative, is ill grammar; and if it be imperative it is not to the King, but to the Lieutenant, supposing these parties had dictated them. To take the King by the hand, is to assist him, with his best service, and not to make him a bairn. But I am exceedingly ashamed to answer that haberdasher of small wares, which, if they were proven, are nothing worth, and not proven, proves the libeller somewhat else than an honest man.

"We never entered treaty with Traquair, and were not accessory to Wat Stewart's cabalistic fancies, and therefore this ground failing, all builded on it proves ruinous.

"4. The assumption in the fourth charge is most false, and, to make a great noise of words where there is no new matter, is reiterated,—and answered before fully in every point to which I refer the reader.

"5. The fifth and last. These parties (it is said) have endeavoured to diminish the power of the Parliament, in so far as it is said by them, that his Majesty's subjects will suffer *no innovations!* Truly *they* wrong the Parliament, and diminish the power of it, who affirm that they can or will make innovation, which is ever taken in the worse sense, and is impotency, and not power, and tends to the prejudice of the public peace and happiness. But making of new laws, or correcting the old, was never called innovation, in any language, but *that of malice.* That the desire that the acts of

Assembly, and that the act of recission may be established, is a way to re-establish Bishops—and that, that our Religion and Liberty may be reserved, is a way to overthrow both,—will require some other sort of reason, than that which mortal men have, to prove. What those arguments which spring from the *spirit of gold* * may do, I am not so good an alchemist as to know.

"In all this matter they still run upon our intentions, and make sinister constructions of them. But we must either make our interpretation of our intentions, (if they be not clear) or else we are not punishable for our intentions by any human power. And when they want actions to charge us with, to fill up the libel, we are quarrelled for intentions, which are known to God. As for our dealing with Traquair, it is utterly denied; and although granted, I see no reason why any man should suffer for that, not being proven an incendiary, but called so in Montrose's protestation, † for that were to make sentence go before probation."‡

* A shrewd hit against this venal process, though Napier was not aware of Archibald Johnston's secret instructions to pay the lawyers largely before hand. The expression is pointed at the Lord Advocate, of whom Napier, in one of his manuscripts, notes that "all his gettings, which are very great, are put in a bottomless purse."

† In the Scots Parliament 1641, before the King arrived, a protest was taken, in the names of all the estates, against Traquair being understood to be the Royal Commissioner, pending the proceedings against him as an incendiary. This formal step is taken at several sederunts, and is sometimes moved, for the nobility, by Montrose, and sometimes by Mar.

‡ Original in Lord Napier's hand-writing. Napier charter-chest.

## CHAPTER III.

HOW THE COVENANTERS TRIUMPHED OVER THE ESTABLISHED RULES OF JUSTICE, BUT NOT OVER THE SPIRIT OR TEMPER OF MONTROSE.

THE faction were now, to use Baillie's phrase, somewhat at a *non plus*. A "very odious libel" had been drawn up, and read in Parliament against Montrose, in his absence.* They were conscious that this same libel was itself one monstrous leasing-making, and that every step they had taken to further the process had only tended to exonerate the accused. But his Majesty was on the eve of arrival, and their unprincipled ingenuity must again be taxed to ferret out the semblance of a case against Montrose. His lodgings in the Canongate were searched, for papers to criminate him, in vain. Lord Sinclair was then commissioned to go to the house of Old Montrose, and institute a search for the same purpose. Accordingly, this nobleman, very much degraded by the office, and, says Bishop Guthrie, "then more furious in the cause than afterwards," broke open Montrose's cabinets, but, adds the same chronicler, "found nothing therein belonging to the

* The principle of substantial justice protected and enforced by the act 1587, c. 91, 92, was, that the party accused should not be "prejudged, in any sort, before he be convicted by lawful trial;" and the general enactment was, "that in all times coming, the whole accusation, reasoning, writs, witnesses, and other probation and instruction, whatsoever, of the crime, shall be alleged, reasoned, and deduced, to the assize, in presence of the party accused, in face of judgment, and no otherwise."

public affairs, only, instead thereof, he found some letters, from ladies to Montrose in his younger years, flowered with Arcadian compliments, which, being divulged, would possibly have met with a favourable construction, had it not been that the hatred carried to Montrose made them to be interpreted in the worse sense. The Lord Sinclair's employment having been only to search for papers of correspondence betwixt his Majesty and Montrose, in reference to public affairs, he was much blamed, by men of honour and gallantry, for publishing those letters, but the rigid sort had him in greater esteem for it." *

Another document, however, was discovered in Montrose's cabinet, of which as much was made as possible. It would appear, that owing to the vague and violent rumours on the subject, so industriously spread by his enemies, Montrose had considered it necessary to preserve some record of his conduct, and that of his friends, in the private archives of his family. This paper I have not succeeded in discovering, but from the style of the "damnable band" itself, and from every other indication of Montrose's style that can be found, we must be perfectly satisfied that its tenor was dignified and rational. Nor is this opinion to be altered, because Sir James Balfour tells us, that upon Friday, 6th August 1641, "a scurvy infamous libel, found in the Earl of Montrose's cabinet, penned by himself against the

* These letters have not come down to us, as most assuredly they would, had they contained any thing against Montrose's character. By Lord Sinclair having published them, Guthrie can only mean that he disclosed them, or discoursed of them, for they are now unknown and not to be found among the pamphlets of the day. It is possible that some of Montrose's poetical effusions were what Lord Sinclair had raised some calumny about.

country, in defence of the divisive band and banders, was read publicly in the house; it was written by the hand of John Graham, his servant, and interlined with his own." We have produced that of Montrose's writings, which proves him to have been incapable of penning a scurvy infamous libel. Such, however, was the usual covenanting mode of characterizing any opinions that militated against the progress of the movement, and the principles of the faction, though they had been recorded with the temper of a saint, and the pen of an angel. The discovery was seized with avidity as an excuse for reviving a clamour against Montrose on the subject of the bond, and for pressing him with new interrogatories as to the grounds of it, and his connexion with John Stewart, though the bond had been burnt, and Stewart beheaded. We will be able to form a juster estimate, of the relative conduct and demeanour of Montrose and his persecutors, from that nobleman's own deposition, than from the records of such prejudiced chroniclers as Baillie and Balfour. Upon the 5th of August 1641, after his private repositories had been broken open with so little success, he was again compelled to appear before the Committee of Estates, when the following scene passed, which we quote from the original manuscript.

"The Earl of Montrose being interrogated whether or not his Lordship knows any who have been practising or dealing for their own private ends, to the prejudice of the public, and what their practices were, declares, that that bond, which his Lordship and others did conceive, was built upon some indirect practising, as they did understand it,—did consist of two points,—the one, anent jealousies and presumptions touching a Dic-

tator, the other, concerning the encantoning of a part of the country. For the persons, his Lordship knows of none, to his memory, for the present, except the Earl of Argyle, who was suspected for the Dictator, and named for the other. Being interrogated what hand the said Earl of Argyle or any others had in these particulars, declares, that, for the time, his Lordship's memory does not serve him to show any more than what is before set down. * Being interrogated whether his Lordship had written any letters to his Majesty the time he was in Berwick, declares, to his memory, he did write none, but that in the time of the Parliament or Assembly, his Lordship did write one, or two, and after that time, to his Lordship's memory, did write none till the army was at Newcastle, at which time his Lordship did write one letter; neither does his Lordship remember particularly the tenor of any of those letters. † Be-

* These questions and answers show that the paper which Baillie declared to be full of "vain humanities,"—"debasing to Hell his opposites," &c., and which Balfour calls "a scurvy infamous libel," had contained nothing relative to the motives for the bond, or against any individual, beyond what Montrose had previously declared, both publicly and privately, and which he repeats in the above deposition.

† It is worthy of remark that Bishop Burnet's story (see before, Vol. i. p. 321,) cannot be easily reconciled with the original manuscript quoted above. If, as the Bishop asserts, the Covenanters came by their knowledge of the contents of that letter, in consequence of Montrose having obeyed the injunction to produce a copy of it in 1640, the above question and answer could scarcely have occurred in 1641. In the passage of his History of Hamilton, where Burnet tells that tale, (p. 179.) there are some very shuffling expressions, which indicate that the Bishop had actually found some of Montrose's letters to the King among Hamilton's papers. "In October and December," he says, "of the former year (1639,) Montrose had writ much in the same strain to the King, which letters the King gave Hamilton, and are yet extant, but were never heard of till now that the writer gives this account of them." But he gives *no account* of them. He suppresses all information as to their contents,

ing interrogated upon the paper concerning the bond which was burnt, declares, that he did avow the paper, and acknowlege that it was helped with his Lordship's hand. Being interrogated what was the reason why such a paper should have been drawn up in justification of the bond which was burnt and disclaimed, answers, that it was not intended as a justification of the bond, for they did imagine that all of that kind was already *assopiat*,* but that it was his Lordship's own private thoughts, which was not to come without the bounds of his own charter-chest, for what his Lordship did intend for the time, and that the paper was written by James Graham, his Lordship's servant. Being interrogated whether or not his Lordship had given direction to umquhile Mr John Stewart, to try out all he could against the Earl of Argyle, anent the bonds, or his other particular carriage, answers, not, unless it may have appeared by consequence; for, whereas the said umquhile Mr John averred such and such things for truth, his Lordship did conceive his warrant too mean a ground to let them come to the public ear, (although it seemed to be, as conceived by them,) but if thereafter he did make them appear such as there were any real grounds for, howsoever there were appearances of jealousies, then such ways might be taken in them as did most suit with the public in-

which from Burnet, speaks every thing in their favour. Yet clearly they were before Burnet, else how did he know their dates? And those *two* dates agree with the fact above deponed to by Montrose, of his having written one or two letters to the King during the Parliament of 1639. Are those letters extant yet? The honest Hardwicke, it seems, had not seen them, when he extracted from the Archives of Hamilton those illustrations of the Scotch troubles, which we find in his collections published in 1778.

* i. e. Laid asleep or set at rest.

terest. Being also interrogated whether or not there was any appointment made with the Earl of Athol, or the said umquhile Mr John, for making ready, and bringing over witnesses to the Parliament, declares, there was none. * Being interrogated what his Lordship meant by the word *jewel*, in his Lordship's letter to Walter Stewart, penult April, answers, that it was anent a letter from the Palsgrave, for calling his Lordship up to court, for the Palsgrave's own particular, which came upon a discourse betwixt Walter and him at Broxmouth, and which Walter thought a good occasion to deal with his Majesty, and the Commissioners, for his Majesty's down coming to Scotland. Declares, that there passed some discourse betwixt his Lordship and Colonel Cochrane, on the way betwixt Newcastle and Chester, as also in his Lordship's lodging at Newcastle, anent the reasons of the burnt bond, but does not remember the particular words or expressions. Declares he had heard much noise and buzzing anent the words for deposing the King, alleged spoken at the ford of Lion, but that he had never heard it from any particular man, which his Lordship could bruik upon, until he heard it from Mr John Stewart, which was at Scoon. Being interrogated upon the first general article anent Walter Stewart's instructions, whether the same were by word or writ, whether dictated or helped by them, &c., declares, that, to his Lordship's knowledge, he had nothing but a general com-

* We venture to say that Mr Brodie and Lord Nugent would have done more for the cause of historical truth, by discovering this manuscript containing Montrose's account of his dealings with John Stewart, than by framing their own violent theories on the subject.—See before, Vol. i. p. 477.

mission to the Duke, neither did they know at all any thing of these characters,* nor does his Lordship remember any thing else, except such purposes as did fall in by discourse, wherein he had no commission. Being interrogated whether or not his Lordship did see, and kept by him a day or two, the propositions to his Majesty, and answers thereof, dated 3d March 1641, at Whitehall, and the paper being shewn to the deponer, answers (after reading of the said paper,) that the Laird of Keir had told his Lordship some such purposes as are contained in the said paper, but does not remember that he did see, or kept the said paper. Being interrogated anent the other paper, brought down with Walter Stewart, declares he never did see this paper, or heard any thing of the purposes thereof."†

Nothing could be more disreputable on the part of the Parliament,—after the libel against Montrose had been read in his absence, and a few days before that on which he was to appear at their bar,—than this attempt to involve him by new interrogatories upon the subject of every clamour raised against him since his first alarm for the monarchy. We say nothing could be meaner or more iniquitous—in a government, too, professing to be based on the liberty of the subject,—unless it were the step by which they followed up an examination that had brought out nothing but an additional testimony of the truth, dignity, and temper of

* Montrose's statement alone is conclusive against Walter Stewart's, as the Committee must have known, for it was a characteristic of Montrose to avow, when challenged, whatever he had done.

† Original MS. Signed by Montrose on each page, and by Balmerino, as President, at the conclusion.

Montrose. Though divided on the proposition, the Argyle Parliament now endeavoured to put in motion against him that too effective engine of agitation, the covenanting Church. Upon this occasion, however, the appeal was a failure, as is manifest from Baillie's own account of the matter. He says, that upon Saturday the 7th of August, two days after Montrose's deposition, " The Parliament sent in to us the Earl of Lothian, one from the barons, and one from the burghs, requiring our judgement of the band, the tenor whereof was read.* The reason why they required our declaration in that matter was, because they said the Earl of Montrose had professed the other night in his examination before the Committee that, however that band was burnt, all the subscribers were yet by oath obliged to the matter of it. Also they read a paper in our audience, written by Montrose's hand, after the burning of the band, full of vain humanities, magnifying to the skies his own courses, and debasing to hell his opposites. Here great wisdom was requisite. It was remitted first to the afternoon, and then to Monday. Sundry of the banded Lords compeared. We feared their stirring. Montrose's advocate craved to be heard. A supplication to us, written by his hand, was read, desiring our good opinion of him, offering to answer all we could lay to his charge to our full satisfaction. He said the band

* Probably from the copy we have given in Vol. i. p. 325. It appears from the above that when the original bond was burnt, the covenanting church had not been informed of its actual tenor, but generally and falsely that it was *scandalum magnatum*. Hence Montrose's anxiety, when his eyes were open to the ultimate aim of the faction, to explain the matter to the Rev. Robert Murray. See Vol. i. p. 373, 377. Blackhall's deposition (Vol. i. p. 461.) also proves how virulently the vague scandal had been propagated against Montrose.

was destroyed by the Committee of Parliament,—that the paper was but a private memorandum for himself, never to have gone without his charter-chest, had not my Lord Sinclair been pleased to make it public,—that that which was alleged of his words in the Committee was not any written part of his deposition,—that he had only spoken of a common guiltiness of all the subscribers with him, —that he had spoken of their obligation only in relation to his accusation. Balmerino, moderator of that Committee, spoke very pathetically for the truth of Montrose's words.* The Assembly passed by what concerned Montrose, or any particular person." They caused, however, Baillie proceeds to say, all the banders who were present, namely, Kinghorn, Seaforth and Lour, to sign a paper declaring their bond unlawful. A deputation of the clergy was sent to Montrose in prison, to inform him of this,—"He spoke to them with a great deal of respect to the Assembly, seemed to insinuate his willingness to subscribe what the Moderator and clerk would require,"—but it is not added that he signed the declaration. It was also moved in the Assembly, that they should use their endeavours to restore harmony among the members of Parliament. This, adds Baillie, was from their zeal for peace, his own opinion being, however, that matters could not be so adjusted, as "the difference was not betwixt any particular men, but alleged crimes of high treason against the State." The peaceful overture was nevertheless carried from the Assembly to the House, "the impertinency whereof the Parliament miskent, and passed without an answer." So ended this second investigation of the "Damnable Band."

* That Balmerino defended him is the best possible proof that Montrose was unjustly dealt with.

The day upon which Montrose was cited to appear and answer to the libel against him was the 14th of August. Yet, to the very last, was he pursued with malicious interrogatories before the Committee. "At Edinburgh, 12th August 1641, in presence of the Committee, compeared the Earl of Montrose, to whom was intimated the warrant from the Parliament to examine his Lordship *upon oath*,* or to confront if need be. Whereunto his Lordship answered, that he was willing to give his oath upon these terms, viz. if it concerned himself, and his *own process*, that for the point he should be examined, when he should swear and depone, it might be *finis litis*† in as far as concerned that article of the libel; and if what his Lordship should depone upon oath concerned other men and not himself, he was content to declare simply, and freely; which those of the Committee thought reasonable, and accorded thereunto. His Lordship likewise desired, that, after this his examination upon oath, what he shall declare may make an absolute close to whatsoever his Lordship shall be asked. The Earl of Montrose being required to depone upon oath his knowledge of any practises, or persons that practised in prejudice of the public, for their private ends, since the first subscribing of the national Covenant, did answer, that he was in all humility most ready to give his oath, or do any thing else commanded by the Parliament, or the Committee in their

* It required a special statute, (1600, c, 7,) to make it lawful, in the particular case of usury, to refer the criminal libel to the oath of party. The whole proceedings against Montrose, in this baseless pursuit, are repugnant to every notion of civilized practice.

† *i. e.* Conclusive of the process, as an oath of reference always infers. Yet there was no chance of any article in the libel being departed from, whatever might be the terms of Montrose's deposition, as indeed the result proved.

names, but since that general, anent practises, was so vast as he could not trust to his memory therein, under oath, his Lordship humbly desired that he might be posed either upon particulars, whereunto he would most willingly and heartily answer, or otherwise have such a sufficient time to recollect himself, as he should not appear to dally with his oath. This his Lordship desired the Committee to represent to the Parliament, before any further inquiry."*

Balmerino reported the matter to the Parliament, who immediately issued their warrant and command that he should answer, and depone upon oath, to the interrogatories of the Committee, and especially should answer the question whether or not it was consistent with his own knowledge that any individuals had been guilty of indirect practises, since the signing of the national Covenant, and what persons had thus practised in prejudice of the public. But Montrose was not to be thus hunted, and driven into the toils of their covenanting version of the law of leasing-making. All that he had hitherto projected in opposition to the democratic movement was justified, not only by the positive information of John Stewart, but by what was daily passing around him. His principal informer, however, had been destroyed, and Montrose was in no position to depone upon oath, and of his own personal knowledge, as to the treason of any individual. The object of those endless examinations, unparalleled for their shameless injustice, was, as Lord Napier had anticipated, to "ensnare and entangle" him. It is fortunate for his fame that so many of those secret papers of the inquisitorial Committee have been accidentally preserv-

* Original MS. signed by Montrose and Balmerino.

ed, and can now be brought to bear the witness of an enemy in favour of his consistency, firmness, and temper, at the same time that they expose the iniquity of his persecutors and judges.* It was upon the 13th of August that Montrose was again summoned before them to hear this order of Parliament, and again the insidious question was put to him. "Being," says their secret record, "solemnly sworn to declare the verity upon the foresaid question, declared, as his Lordship had done in his depositions of the 4th of August instant, that that bond, which his Lordship and others did conceive, was built upon some indirect practising, as they did understand it,—did consist of two points,—the one, anent jealousies and presumptions touching a Dictator, the other, concerning the encantoning a part of the country,—and declares that his Lordship does not now depone or affirm of his *own knowledge* that these grounds were truly so, but that his Lordship and others at the time conceived them to be so; and declares that no further consists in his *Lordship's knowledge* of private or public practising at home or abroad; and siclike declares that his *Lordship knows* nothing of any indirect practising or dealing, either by the Earl of Argyle, or Lord Lindsay,† or any other Scotsman."‡

* The MS. Record of the rescinded acts, to which we have referred before as having been recently discovered in London, does not contain any of those proceedings before the Committee, for our knowledge of which we have been indebted to the original papers preserved in the Advocates' Library, and to Lord Napier's private notes.

† It would have been still more instructive could we have seen the particular interrogatories which brought out Montrose's replies. From the very first he declared he meant not to accuse Lindsay at all, and he had already deponed to and produced his authority for his suspicions of Argyle. But conscience made cowards of the Argyle inquisition.

‡ Original MS., signed by Montrose on each page, and "Balmerino I. P. D." at the conclusion.

Montrose had now suffered two months of solitary confinement, continually harassed by these lawless proceedings, and treated with such indignity as mean minds delight to exercise over lofty ones, when they can do it with impunity. Yet from first to last we observe in him the same remarkable demeanour that a few years afterwards attracted the sympathy and admiration of Europe to his scaffold. Throughout the whole of those declarations and depositions we have now brought to light, and which had been taken down by those who would do the least possible justice to his words and demeanour, no symptom of excitement or violence appears, not one ungentle expression of impatience or disrespect to his ungenerous pursuers. Even in his enemies' record of his "contumacy," we trace nothing but his calmness and self-possession, combined with the dignity of a nobleman, and the firmness of an invincible spirit, and thus we obtain a new portraiture of Montrose, and become more conscious of the hero than hitherto in contemplating his struggles in the field, and his victory over death.

The original papers from which we obtain this insight into the cloudy history of Montrose's departure from the Covenant, brings out another fact, hitherto unknown, which is well worth the attention of those historical and biographical writers who, still recording our hero in the vein of his contemporary persecutors, allow no other theory of his change than a jealous and interested temper. Upon his own personal experience he would not swear to or particularize any act of treasonable dealing (beyond what he so repeatedly narrated,) against any one of the revolutionary faction. But he had other sources of information on the subject besides the unfortunate John Stewart. His nephew, Sir

George Stirling, had become aware of a private trafficking among some of the "prime Covenanters," for the principal Offices in the kingdom, even while the army was at Newcastle in 1640. This is the more worthy of attention, seeing that the *gravamen* of the capital charges against the Plotters was their dealing privately, apart from the rest of the Committee of which they were members.* Now not only was Archibald Johnston thus acting privately and apart with his pet factionists, but so it seems was the Earl of Rothes with Argyle. Sir James Balfour, in his Journal of the Scots Parliament 1641, notices, cunningly and meanly enough,

* A single tattered page of the libel against Lord Napier is all that has been preserved. It is in the hand-writing of Sir Alexander Gibson, (the son of "Ould Durie,") who became Clerk-Register in the scramble for office in 1641. It is curious to compare the charges which appear in this fragment with that previous scene before the Committee, when Durie and the rest even stayed Napier by the cloak in order to persuade him to accept their *private* declaration of his innocency. The leading charge is interested perjury,—"In so far as, by *a private and clandestine way*, apart by himself, being one of the number of Committee of Estates, without knowledge of the Committee, and no ways imparting the same to them, he in his private instructions sent by Lieutenant-Colonel Walter Stewart to Traquair," &c. "desired that the offices, and others his Majesty's royal favours, should be keeped up undisposed on, and to be conferred upon them who should deserve best at Parliament, and, namely, upon himself, Montrose, and Keir, under the letters of A, B, C, albeit by the instructions directed by the Committee of Estates to the Commissioners, subscribed by himself as one of the Committee, they had warrand not to deal for any of the said offices to themselves, but, on the contrary, humbly to suit his Majesty that they might be conferred by his Majesty with the advice of this Parliament; wherein the said Archibald Lord Napier, his indirect and underhand and divisive dealing is manifest," &c. No wonder Lord Napier expressed himself so indignantly in his defences to this dishonest libel. Sir John Hope of Craighall presided on the occasion, when the Committee, upon whose report the libel professed to be grounded, actually acquitted Lord Napier in private; and yet Sir John's father, the Lord Advocate, pursues this charge, in which it was perfectly well known to the faction that there was no truth.

(a characteristic of all his notices of Montrose and his friends,) that on the 6th of August, "the Committee for the Plotters in the Castle makes the report of Montrose and Keir's depositions, which were publicly read. A parcel of a letter of the Earl of Rothes to the Earl of Argyle, read in the house, for clearing some passages of Keir's depositions, which he would have laid on my Lord Argyle." In vain do we look in the original record for any notice of this incident, and Balfour's reference to it has hitherto only afforded the inevitable impression that Argyle had been calumniated by some ultroneous accusation from Sir George Stirling. Fortunately, however, his deposition also we can now produce, and it will be found to tell a very different story.

Upon the 5th of August 1641, Sir George Stirling "being interrogated, if he knows any who have been practising or dealing for their own private or particular ends, he desired that he might not be put to it to answer thereto, because he thought it came not within the compass of this Committee's commission." On the same day Balmerino complained of this contumacy to the Parliament,* and accordingly, in the afternoon:—"The Laird of Keir being commanded by the Parliament to declare to the Committee what he knows of any who have been practising or dealing for their own private or particular ends, declares as follows, viz. *shortly after the army came to Newcastle*, one with a message or commission came to Newcastle. Thereafter, Mr Eleazar Borthwick† was dispatched and sent away, *with-*

* Baillie, in his Journal of the Parliament of 1641, notes, "Thursday, 5th August, Balmerino complained that Keir refused to answer some interrogatories of the Committee. The Estates ordained him to answer all."

† See before, Vol. i. p. 180.

*out consulting of the Committee* who were commanded by the Parliament to attend the army. Those who received the commission, and dispatched away Mr Eleazar, were some of the Committee. The deponer could not condescend upon their names, and, in respect the deponer was urged by the Committee to show, and set under his hand, what further he knows upon the foresaid question, being loath to touch upon these parties, whom he respected, desired to be delayed until he had *acquitted himself to them*, which being refused by the Committee, he declared that he understood, by the Earl of Argyle, that the Earl of Rothes had written to him, to let him know if his Lordship *had a mind to be Chancellor of Scotland*, and likewise did see the Earl of Argyle's answer to the Earl of Rothes, wherein he did* show that he had no such intention."

Nor did Keir retract what he had said, for it appears that on the 12th of August he was again examined, and pressed upon the allegation of the "indirect practising of a few," when he "declares, as in his former deposition of the fifth day of August in the afternoon, after he was commanded by the Parliament to depone, to which deposition he adheres." †

The fact thus brought out was of course not made the subject of inquisitorial investigation, it being no part of the covenanting scheme to convict either Rothes or Argyle of "underhand dealing," or "seeking preferment to themselves." But in this anecdote we may perceive the real object of the leading factionists, in wresting from the King his most valuable prerogative of selecting his principal functionaries, and one of the

* How little truth there was in this declaration of Argyle's, will be seen afterwards.

† Original MS. signed by Keir and Balmerino.

many simultaneous circumstances that checked the heady current of Montrose's early politics.

And now, that he had been compelled to depone upon oath in the criminal process against him, was Montrose released, or even brought to the speedy and public trial he so respectfully, though firmly and incessantly demanded? In the matter of Argyle he had produced his informer, who had been executed. In the matter of the King and Traquair, he had cleared himself upon oath, and the falsehood of Walter Stewart was made manifest even by the King himself. Did these prime ministers of Religion and Liberties extend to the accused the benefit of Christian feeling or legal right? They did not. On the very day after the reference to his oath, being the 14th of August, "this," says Balfour, "being the peremptory day to which the Earl of Montrose was cited to answer before the Parliament, after some debate, by voices, he was ordained to compear in person at the bar, as a delinquent, in the place appointed for the common incendiaries, which he in all humility obeyed, and his trial was delayed till the 24th of August instant." But we now know how to interpret the malicious "in all humility obeyed," with which Balfour dismisses the dignified resignation and gentlemanly bearing of Montrose. He rose superior to their indignities then, as when he had to drain to its dregs the bitter cup of covenanting malice. And Balfour might have been more honest in his notice of what passed upon this occasion, for, by the original record, it appears that Montrose, when placed at their bar, "offered himself ready to answer, and desired no continuation, and desired the extracts of the depositions

and papers whereupon his summons is founded," *—but he pleaded and protested in vain.†

It was on the evening of this same day, being Saturday, 14th August 1641,‡ that the King arrived at Holyroodhouse, accompanied, among others, by his nephew the Palsgrave, the Duke of Lennox, and the Marquis of Hamilton.

* MS. Orig. Record of Parl.

† From one of the original manuscripts, signed by Balmerino, it appears that on the 4th of August, when Montrose was pressed with interrogatories,—" his Lordship answered that he was now, by warrant from the Parliament, cited to appear before them, who had warranted his Lordship to advise and consult with Advocates and Lawyers, in whose hand he had referred his whole process, and himself also, to whom he was bound that he would do nothing but with their advice and approbation; and declared he was willing in all humility to give obedience to any of the Parliament's commands, if it were in his power, but being tied to his procurators, he could do nothing herein till they gave his Lordship resolution thereanent," &c. The Inquisitors " represented to his Lordship that their interrogatories were all upon fact, and not in law, and so needed no resolution," &c. Montrose answered, " that his process consisted of two halves, the one in law, the other in fact, both which parts he had referred to his lawyers and procurators."—*Orig. MS.* This plea of Montrose's was treated as contumacious!

‡ I have not discovered the authority upon which Dr Aiton, (Life of Henderson, p. 475,) who has noted none, asserts, that,—" In the afternoon his Majesty did not return to church, but exercised himself at golf, a play with a ball and club, somewhat like pell-mell, which was the only recreation the place afforded. Henderson took an early opportunity of hinting his error in this respect to him, when he promised not to be guilty of giving such offence again." Now, it is not likely that Charles, who had only arrived on Saturday night after an extraordinary rapid journey, should on Sunday afternoon be playing at anything " somewhat like pell-mell,"—a game, by the way, rather requiring explanation than golf. Sir James Balfour, who could scarcely be misinformed, notes, " 15th August, Sunday, his Majesty, afternoon went not to sermon, but *being weary reposed himself in private.*" Baillie says,—" afternoon he came not, whereof being advertised by Mr Alexander, (Henderson) he promised not to do so again."

## CHAPTER IV.

THE KING AND THE COVENANTING PARLIAMENT OF 1641.

CHARLES, notwithstanding his haughty aristocratic bearing, and that effervescence of his royal and hasty blood so frequently roused to his lips by the rude shocks of the times, was harmless as a dove when brought to the proof, and, when left to his own resources in difficulty, was undecided and helpless as a child. On his throne of Scotland, at that Parliament in 1641, he was even less of a Monarch than the Duke of Venice, whom Montrose describes as no more than the idol to whom ceremonies and compliments are addressed. Charles, however, was rather in the position of a delinquent at their bar. All those warlike projects and feelings,—which Hamilton had stirred within him only to his ruin,—withered by the same influence, had passed away, and left a broken spirit behind. How strange, that the nobleman on whom alone the King leant,—and trusted with a love surpassing the love of women,—he who had confidentially urged the King to carry fire and sword into covenanting Scotland, should now be in high favour with that very faction, while those whose most secret advice to Charles had been, 'practice, Sir, the temperate government, — it fitteth the humour and disposition of Scotland best,—it gladdeth the hearts of your subjects,—strongest is that power which is based on the happiness of the subject—one

peace is better than a thousand triumphs',—should be in prison, as plotters, incendiaries, traitors, invoking the names of Justice and Liberty in vain!

But where was Rothes,—the father of the Covenant,—the *primo buffo* of the Cause?* Where was the *canny* Rothes, who had so pertinaciously haunted the footsteps of Charles, when last in Scotland, that the people might see whom it was the King delighted to honour? He had died, and even Mr Brodie admits that, "Rothes, an offer of a place in the bed-chamber, and the promise of a great marriage had so won, that it is extremely probable, in spite of his professions to his old friends, a premature death alone rescued him from the disgrace of apostacy." But surely the apostacy that can be thus hypothetically declared of him, must have left some token against him e'er he died. It is not to the rescue that Death steps in, when the approaches of disgrace have become apparent. The King of Terrors, indeed, baulked Rothes of his reward, but as for his apostacy,—

> The sin where Death hath set his seal,
> Time cannot cancel or anele,
> Nor falsehood disavow.—

It was indeed a scene in the Dance of Death. In

* The shewy appearance and facetious address of Rothes told admirably, upon the mobocracy, from the first hustings of the Covenant, when *protestation* met *proclamation* in conflicts so fatal to the monarchy. He appears to have been not a little proud of his political convert Montrose, whom he loved to parade as an *elève* of his own in democracy. The following anecdote is told by James Gordon in his manuscript. The Covenanters, he says, who were protesting, "had a scaffold ordinarily reared opposite the Cross, and there stood the noblemen and other prime men, and such as read the protestation. It is reported that at one of these protestations at Edinburgh Cross, Montrose standing up upon a puncheon that stood on the scaffold, the Earl of Rothes in jest said to him, 'James, you will not be at rest till you be lifted up there above the rest in three fathom of a rope.'"

1638, when Rothes was in the ascendant of his factious career, he wrote,—"but God hath a great work to do here, as will be shortly seen, and men be judged by what is passed." In 1640, his sense of the progress of the great work is indicated by that letter wherein, crouching to Argyle, he asks him, "if his Lordship had a mind to be Chancellor of Scotland." But, in 1641, the great work, so far as Rothes cared for it, had reached its consummation. In that year he writes in deprecating terms to Archibald Johnston,—"prepare the Earl of Argyle and Balmerino,* for if I defer to *accept the place*, times are uncertain, and dispositions. If Argyle

* Lord Hailes (Memor. Vol. ii. p. 135,) quotes the following fragment of a letter, in the Advocates' Library, from Balmerino to a person unknown,—"Among other mysteries of these times, one seemeth strange that some, having no principles of religion to lead them, should fall fairer in the present course of church affairs, than others that have both professed and practised, both and suffered; but as *crimen ambitus* is against our Covenant, so I see φιλαργυρία παντῶν τῶν κακων ρίζα. I have retained so much of the liturgy as to say, "Good Lord deliver us." Lord Hailes notes, that he cannot ascertain the date of this letter, and that he will not "presume upon simple conjecture to determine against whom the charge of a loose life, with great seeming zeal of ambition, and of avarice is here brought." But we must be forgiven for conjecturing that Rothes is here pointed at by his old colleague. Clarendon records the particulars of the place at Court, and the rich marriage, as the price of Rothes, of whom he says, after eulogizing his appearance and address, that he was "unrestrained in his discourse by any scruples of religion, which he only put on when the part he was to act required it, and then no man could appear more conscientiously transported." Baillie, in a letter to his wife, (not in the printed edition of his letters) dated 2d June 1641, says,—"Show to my Lady [Montgomery] and to *her only* that my Lord her father [Rothes] is like to change all the Court, that the King and Queen begin much to affect him, and if they go on he is like to be the greatest courtier either of Scots or English. Likely he will take a place in the Bed-chamber, and be little more a Scottish man. If he please, as it seems he inclines, he may have my Lady Devonshire, a very wise lady, with L.4000 Sterling a-year. The wind now blows fair in his topsail. I wish it may long continue, but all things are *very changeable*. Thy own, R. Baillie."

and Balmerino be pleased, then you may labour to move Lothian and Lindsay ;" and after a miserable attempt to excuse his venal retreat, and thrusting in one sentence of cant, he concludes,—" but this is an age of unjust censuring,"—and so saying, the father of the Covenant * (which was the very charter of unjust censuring) died.

Montrose has been bitterly maligned, upon what proof we have seen, for having been tempted at Court to turn against the Covenanters. But it was Rothes, and not Montrose, who forsook his party solely from such selfish and mercenary motives. Montrose they decreed to be a bloody murderer and excommunicated traitor. The memory of Rothes was protected by the Parliament, on the petition of his son, in an act whereby they " do honour the said umquhile Earl of Rothes with this their national testimony, that he had deserved well of the public as a *loyal subject to the King*, a faithful servant to the Estates, and a true patriot to his country,"—in short lauding and exonerating him " in his whole actions and carriage." Thus, with every virtue under the sun was Rothes gifted—by covenanting act of Parlia ment.

If Charles never received that letter, of the Plotters, disclosed in the preceding volume, the coincidence is very remarkable that his demeanour, upon meeting the Parliament, the sentiments and propositions he held out to them, nay, his very expressions, were what might have been expected had he taken that letter as the guide and ground-work of his own plans and address. On Tuesday, 17th of August, the King proceeded to

* He became unexpectedly ill on the eve of the King's departure for Scotland, and died at Richmond, 23d August 1641.

Parliament, Hamilton bearing the crown and Argyle the sceptre. Yes, under the malign conjunction of the serpent in the bosom, and the snake in the grass, was the throne now destined to fall prostrate. His Majesty, "kindly saluting the house," spoke of the unlucky differences and mistakings that had happened betwixt him and his subjects, how deeply he regretted them, but that he hoped by his presence to settle, and "rightly to know, and be known of my native country." He adverted to the difficulties and obstacles cast in the way of this progress, yet, he added, "this I will say, that if love to my native country had not been a chief motive to this journey, other respects might easily have found a shift to do that by a Commissioner which I am come to perform myself." Then he called upon their loyal feelings in support of his authority, and as if mindful of that eloquent assurance to himself, that thousands in Scotland would shed their hearts-blood e'er his throne departed, and that he was not like a tree lately planted which oweth the fall to the first wind, he now cast himself upon the affections of his people for the maintenance of his royal power, "which," he said, "I do now enjoy after a hundred and eight descents, and which you have so often professed to maintain, and to which your own national oath doth oblige you." And, as if also mindful of the injunction to satisfy them in point of Religion and Liberties in a loving and free manner, but to stand on his prerogatives, and to make the dispensing of offices his last act there, Charles thus concluded: "Now the end of my coming is shortly this, to perfect whatsoever I have promised, and withal to quiet those distractions which have and may fall out amongst you; and this I mind not superficially but fully and cheerfully to do, for I assure you

that I can do nothing with more cheerfulness than to give my people content, and a general satisfaction. Therefore, not offering to indear myself to you in words, which indeed is not my way, I desire in the first place to settle that which concerns the Religion and just Liberties of this my native country, before I proceed to any other act."

Baillie, in one of his letters to William Spang, giving him the details of this Parliament, says, that "about the time Walter Stewart's informations had come to the King, giving probable assurance for convicting Hamilton and Argyle of capital crimes, if the countenance of a present King* might favour the accusers, our commissioners of the best note, and the leaders of the English Parliament, by all means laboured to make the King's journey difficult." Yet he was now met with

* i. e. The King in person. This passage, hitherto relied upon as containing the true historical facts, only serves to show how prejudiced and darkling Baillie was on the subject of the Plot. The depositions and statements of Montrose, Napier, Traquair, Keir, and Blackhall, prove that Walter Stewart was charged with no such informations to the King, and the draft of the private letter found in the Napier charter-chest, completely corroborates those declarations, and proves what inducements really were held out to the King, by Montrose and his party, to further his presence in Scotland at this time. Historians are greatly mistaken who assume for facts all Baillie's positive assertions, on the subject of the Plot, and the Incident, or any other covenanting mystery. Had Montrose been a free agent, and in his place in Parliament, the informations of John Stewart, and other circumstances, would probably have come to a very different issue. But it would not have been by the secret machinery of *Committees*, that Montrose would have put the liberty or the lives of Hamilton and Argyle in jeopardy. They would not have called in vain, as Montrose was now doing, for an open and fair trial. Montrose was anxious for the meeting of Parliament, that any charges he might find it necessary to prefer should be preferred in that constitutional form. And why was the mere rumour that Montrose intended this, so alarming to the faction? Why were Hamilton and Argyle determined that Montrose should become their victim by foul means, e'er he should become their open accuser in Parliament?

covenanting greetings, in which the faction took all the credit to themselves of his presence among them, and of the peaceful settlement proposed. When the President of the Parliament had made his acknowledgments in reply to the speech from the throne, up rose the "man of craft, subtilty, and falsehood,"—up rose "King Campbell." He answered the King, says Baillie, with a "cordial harangue of welcome." He compared the kingdom of Scotland to a ship that had been long tossed in a tempestuous sea, and which his Majesty was now steering through rocks and shelves to safe anchorage. But the man of craft was not contented with this complimentary application of his simile. By a sentence of unequalled insolence, referring to those whom Charles vainly struggled to protect, Argyle gave him to understand how slight was the Monarch's control of that vessel, which he did humbly intreat his Majesty that now he would conduct safely to harbour, "since that for her safety he had given way to cast out some of the naughtiest baggage to lighten her." Thus intimating not only that the loyal must be thrown over-board, but that the King must father the act.

Accordingly we find that a mean attempt was now made to humble Montrose before the inquisitorial tribunal of this Parliament, and to make it appear as if the King himself was really a party to these tyrannical proceedings. And, as if to fulfil the dictum of Archibald Johnston, that the King and kingdom could never end with honour except Balmerino had his revenge, "this same pardoned Balmerino" the King was now constrained to name as President, in which exalted position he was accordingly placed by the acclamation of Parliament. On the 21st of August, another petition from Montrose

was read to the House in presence of the King. We have no other means of ascertaining the terms of this petition, than through the prejudiced and partial medium of Sir James Balfour, who says, it "humbly beseeched his Majesty and the honourable House of Parliament, to take his, Montrose's, restraint to their consideration, and his willingness to obey their determinations,—in fine, a submission to the House in obscure terms." The meaning of this is, that the faction thirsted for an abject submission from Montrose, in the hearing of the King, and they tried to extract it from the temperate tone and dignified expressions by which Montrose evinced the greatness of his own mind —the same mind that in its hour of utmost agony failed not in a single circumstance of calm and studied respect towards those who sat in the name of the King. A debate of two hours occurred upon this petition, and it would seem that some, friendly to Montrose, were inclined to suffer the interpretation to be put upon it of a submission beyond mere respect to his Majesty and the House. This judgment was pronounced, that the House required to know from Montrose whether the petition implied his desire for submission, accommodation, or a speedy course of justice; and the Committee for the Plotters were enjoined to receive the explanation from himself, and report to Parliament whether it was an accommodation, a legal trial, or to be allowed to submit himself to the King and Parliament, that he humbly craved. Now Balfour's own record will suffice to prove that his first statement of the tenor of Montrose's petition is inaccurate, if not unfair:

"25th August, Wednesday. In presence of the King. The petition exhibited to the House on Saturday last by the Earl of Montrose was read over again, with his

answers to the Committee,* wherein he does not desire any accommodation, as some of his friends did imply, but only a speedy just trial, with those papers that he had petitioned often before for; and withal he desired to know the will of the King and Parliament, if they did desire him to require of them an accommodation."

Every possible unfair advantage had been taken of Montrose. Not a rule of law or maxim of justice had been adhered to. He had been violently accused to his Judges behind his back. He had been again and again compelled to declare in the case against himself, and latterly, after having been indicted and cited, he, the accused, was compelled to depone upon oath, in the matter for which he was about to be tried. While the machinery of his prosecution was thus got up, what were his means of defence? He had been served with a libel, the voluminous falsehoods of which, from the nature of their construction, it was impossible for him to unravel and expose without comparing the accusation with all those intricate declarations and depositions on which it depended, commencing with the Reverend Robert Murray's, and including those of the two Stewarts, his own, and his fellow prisoners. The case against him could be met in no other way, and therefore he incessantly demanded copies of all these papers. But when the Argyle Parliament received that spirited reply from him on the 25th of August, after another debate of two hours, they wrote this deliverance on the back of his petition. That as for those papers he demanded, he

* It is to be regretted after what we have seen of those proceedings, before the Committee, that Montrose's answers upon this occasion are not to be found among the Wodrow manuscripts. Nor are even the above details in the Record of Parliament.

producing the like practique, should have as much favour as any in *the like case;* and that the King and Parliament would take the judicial trial of his process to their consideration, in their own time, and when they thought it convenient. That in the meantime, however, they afforded him an opportunity of giving the House *satisfaction*, by petitioning them to be allowed to accommodate and submit. Such is Sir James Balfour's record of the matter, and from Baillie we learn the result. It seems that the form of a submission to the Parliament had been drawn up for Montrose's signature, which he refused to adhibit. Many deliberations, says Baillie in one of his letters, occurred upon Montrose's petition to have his cause discussed, but "since he refused to subscribe the submission, which the King saw and did not disallow, the cognition of his cause was cast by till the Parliament had dispatched their more weighty affairs." A petition was then presented in the names of Montrose, Napier, Keir, and Blackhall, praying that they might be released on sufficient caution. This petition, after much debate, was ordered, by plurality of voices, to have no answer at all until all public business was ended!

Their anxiety to implicate the King in these proceedings will be observed in Baillie's assumption of his Majesty's negative approval. But Charles was helpless. The nod of one man in that Assembly would have sufficed to release Montrose, but that was not the King's. Had Argyle said, 'let Montrose go free,' who would have dared to say no? But not the most impassioned speech that Charles could have uttered in his favour would have shaken his prison door. The King had already been told so. He had struggled hard to obtain the benefit of oblivion for the comparatively innocent,

as it was to be extended to the guilty, and that those who "have only left the cause and adhered to us be past from." Even Loudon and Dunfermline had pressed upon the Parliament that gracious message of the King's. But it had been peremptorily and insolently rejected by Argyle, who, moreover, had reminded the King of the "naughty baggage" thrown over-board. Charles, deserted and betrayed by Hamilton, and unable to stand alone, gave up that contest for their immediate liberty, in the silent hope of saving them eventually from the fate of Strafford. It was no idle or calumnious notion that Montrose had adopted from his conversation with Lindsay. Argyle was now as effectually Dictator in Scotland, as if the nation had proclaimed him so. And Montrose himself now felt practically the truth of his own sentiment,—"weak and miserable is that people whose prince hath not power sufficient to punish oppression, and to maintain peace and justice."

When we turn, however, to such sources as enable us to look into the heart of this unhappy monarch, we discover that he laboured for the release of Montrose and his friends, as a point of justice and honour, though he could not venture to interfere with the disposal of their petitions, especially as he was kept in the dark as to the details of the case against them. But he knew generally that their crime was adherence to him. He knew that their advice to him was that very policy which the Parliament had just accepted from himself with expressions of satisfaction and gratitude. And he also knew that the colour of a case had only been extorted against the Plotters by those falsehoods of Walter Stewart's which, his Majesty had heard, even implicated himself. His honest and affectionate Secretary, Sir Edward Nicholas, a green spot to Charles in the turbulent desert of his councils, was at this time the sympathiz-

ing depositary of his wishes and distracted feelings. Fortunately their correspondence has been preserved, and of late years published. In one of those most interesting letters, Sir Edward thus writes to the King: "I pray God there be not some design in detaining your Majesty there till your affairs here be reduced to the same state they there are in. I assure your Majesty the opinion of wise men here is, that to have what officers you desire in that kingdom, cannot make so much for your service there, as your absence hence at this time will prejudice you in business of more importance here. And as for the Lord Montrose and the rest, some here (that pretend to understand the condition of their case) are of opinion, that their innocency is such, as they will not fare the worse for your Majesty's leaving them to the ordinary course of justice there."

But little did the honest Secretary know how extraordinary was the course of justice now in Scotland. How pleasant is it to turn from that mean and paltry insinuation of the covenanting Baillie,—"the King saw and did not disallow,"—to the note, written by the hand of Charles himself, on the margin of Sir Edward's letter, in reply to the passage we have quoted: "This may be true that you say, but I am sure that I miss somewhat in point of honour if they all be not relieved before I go hence." *

* See the correspondence printed in the second volume of Evelyn's Memoirs, p. 31. quarto edit. 1819. The letter quoted is dated 5th October 1641. It shows that, four months after their imprisonment, the crime of the Plotters was a mystery to all but the faction, and that only a few wise men could pretend to conjecture the condition of their case.

## CHAPTER V.

EXAMINATION OF THE CALUMNY THAT MONTROSE MADE AN OFFER TO ASSASSINATE HAMILTON AND ARGYLE.

It is not alone by the calumnies of his contemporary enemies, and by those modern writers who follow *con amore* in their footsteps, that the fame of Montrose has suffered. We have already referred to the fact, that even from the pen of Clarendon, the heaviest charge against our hero has come down; and in modern times, Mr D'Israeli, who so ardently espouses the cause of Charles, has, without the slightest investigation, lent the authority of his popular name to the worst calumny existing against Montrose. Why is it that this elegant and critical writer, so skilled in tearing the specious veil from the most imposing counterfeits of history, while he has devoted to the martyr monarch a work that must be interesting so long as our history is read, leaves the character of the martyr nobleman imbedded, as he found it, amid the rank nettles of faction, and the slime of her toads? Mr D'Israeli, like the great historian he so justly reveres, is weak in those pages of his Commentaries which depend upon a minute knowledge of the sources of secret history in Scotland; and, apparently satisfied with breaking his lance for the King against the champions of democracy, he unhesitatingly sacrifices Montrose at the shrine of Clarendon. But to redeem the character of our hero from the dark calumnies of Scottish faction, is so far to

redeem the character of the monarch himself, whom they invariably implicated in all that they feigned or fancied against Montrose.

From its unsubstantial nature, the calumny we are now to consider presents itself in two shapes, and, strange to say, the modern edition of it differs essentially from the contemporary version, upon which alone, however, it depends. We propose to examine both of these theories, and to demonstrate that the story of Montrose having made an offer to assassinate Hamilton and Argyle with his own hand, is a fable,—that in its terms, as first recorded by Clarendon, the anecdote is physically impossible, and that the modern modification of it is morally impossible, and utterly baseless.

Clarendon in one of his various and intricate manuscripts, and in that well known passage where he speaks of the rivalry betwixt Montrose and Argyle, proceeds to say :—" But now, after his Majesty arrived in Scotland [1641,] by the introduction of Mr William Murray of the bed-chamber, he (Montrose) *came privately to the King*, and informed him of many particulars from the beginning of the Rebellion, and that the Marquis of Hamilton was no less faulty and false towards his Majesty than Argyle, and offered to make proof of all in the Parliament, but rather desired to kill them both, which he frankly undertook to do ; but the King, abhorring that expedient, for his own security, advised that the proofs might be prepared for the Parliament. When suddenly on a Sunday morning, the city of Edinburgh was in arms, and Hamilton and Argyle both gone out of the town to their own houses, where they stood upon their guard, declaring publicly that they had withdrawn themselves, because they knew there was a

design to assassinate them ; and chose rather to absent themselves, than, by standing upon their defence in Edinburgh, (which they could not well have done,) to hazard the public peace and security of the Parliament, which thundered in their behalf."*

After the illustrations we have produced of the covenanting machinery working at this time against Montrose, and the unquestionable evidence of the jealousy with which he was secluded in the Castle, it will at once occur to the reader, that if a crude, confused, and ill-informed passage of secret history were ever left in manuscript, it is the above. Was William Murray of the bed-chamber constable of Edinburgh Castle? And if he were, is it possible that, without the knowledge and concurrence of the Covenanters, he could at this crisis have brought Montrose privately to the King? The word " privately," in the passage quoted, can have no other meaning than that the faction were kept in ignorance of this stolen interview. But it will be remembered that when Stephen Boyd permitted Montrose, Napier, and Keir, to hold some casual meeting together, within the walls of their prison, not only was the fact instantly known, but Stephen Boyd lost his office for presuming to relax their confinement. His successor, Colonel Lindsay, dared not even receive a

* The above is from the edition of Clarendon's History, (Vol. ii. p. 17.) published in 1826, with the suppressed passages, and is the genuine text of Clarendon's original manuscript. In the former edition, given to the public by Clarendon's sons, the words " to kill them both" had been suppressed, and the less startling expressions, " to have them both made away," substituted. It is difficult to reconcile this pious fraud,—which, however inefficient for the purpose, could only have been intended to leave room for charitable interpretation,—with the opinion of Dr Bandinel, under whose excellent auspices the perfect edition appears, that " the present collation satisfactorily proves that the noble editors have in no one instance, added, suppressed, or altered any historical fact."—*Preface.*

petition from Montrose, to be delivered, by the Constable himself, to Montrose's friends, without first going to the Parliament for his warrant. The petitions of Montrose, to be allowed to meet with Napier and Keir within the Castle, and in presence of their jailor, were repeatedly pressed, down to the period when the King arrived in Scotland, and as constantly refused. His legal advisers even, could not obtain admission to him, without the special warrant of the Parliament, and by that alone was the jailor's presence dispensed with upon the occasion of those consultations for Montrose's defence. Did he possess any greater facilities for a private interview with the King? The principal object of his present restraint was to separate him from Charles, so long as his Majesty remained in Scotland. From the first moment of his arrival, every motion of the Monarch was closely watched by the Covenanters. At no time could he have countermined that Argus-eyed faction; and Mr D'Israeli himself has well observed, that there is not wanting certain evidence that the King was ever surrounded by spies, prying into his movements, watching his unguarded hours, and chronicling his accidental expressions. The King and Montrose could only have accomplished such an interview by means of the enchanter's wand. How rigorous his confinement was, to the very last, is proved by the journal of Sir James Balfour, who records that, on the first of November, there was presented to the Parliament, and still without success, "the humble petition of Montrose, Napier, Keir, and Blackhall, desiring that now, after seven* months

* So it is written in the MS. note-book of the Lord Lyon; but the figure 7 was probably a mistake for 5, as Montrose was sent to the Castle early in June.

imprisonment, they might be enlarged upon what surety the Parliament should think fit; and that they might have that favour that has been shown to thieves, raisers of fire, and other malefactors, by the Justice General, as the practiques produced by them do clearly demonstrate." Neither throughout that minute journal, nor in the voluminous and gossiping correspondence of Baillie, nor in any other record, is there an idea or surmise of the King and Montrose having met upon that occasion, or of such a proposition having come from Montrose in any shape whatever. If Clarendon meant that Montrose was not under restraint at all, when thus introduced to the King, his entire ignorance of what was taking place in Scotland at the time is manifest. And it is scarcely less so upon the supposition that the historian was aware of Montrose being a prisoner, and yet supposed that he could nevertheless obtain a stolen interview with his Majesty, through the instrumentality of a gentleman of the bed-chamber.

We cannot avoid, then, coming to the conclusion that when Lord Clarendon penned that unhappy paragraph, he was grossly misinformed, and that his anecdote is absolutely disproved by its own terms. We think it cannot be doubted that had this great writer been aware of all the circumstances we have developed, at the time when he recorded the calumny, either it would not have appeared at all, or have been modified in some manner which it is now impossible to conjecture, and therefore most unwarrantable to assume. Let us turn, then, to the modern theories on the subject.

David Hume had learnt, from Rushworth's Collections, that Montrose was a prisoner when Charles came to Edinburgh in 1641. The plan of Hume's work did not lead him to investigate the details further, but

the use he made of the fact serves to illustrate, what we have elsewhere observed of him, that he could do more for history with imperfect materials, by his natural penetration and philosophical reflection, than other less gifted but more laborious authors, who have ransacked the records from one end of the island to the other. "It is not improper," says Hume, "to take notice of a mistake committed by Clarendon, much to the disadvantage of this gallant nobleman, (Montrose,) that he offered the King, when his Majesty was in Scotland, to assassinate Argyle. All the time the King was in Scotland Montrose was confined to prison." * And with that single observation, our composed historian dismissed, and probably thought he had destroyed the anecdote of Clarendon.

Malcolm Laing, however, at a later period, took up the pen, apparently ambitious of recording Scotland with the classic elegance of Hume and Robertson, enriched by that rigorous investigation of the sources of secret history which characterizes the historical antiquary. His chapter of Montrose, at least, is no evidence that his powers were equal to his pretension. Among his elaborate misconceptions on the subject, occurs the following: "According to Clarendon, Montrose, by the introduction of Murray of the bed-chamber, was admitted privately to the King, informed him of many particulars from the beginning of the rebellion, (to which, as a member of the Committee of Estates, he was necessarily privy, †) asserted, and offered to

* Hume's Hist. Vol. vii. p. 44.

† This is a weak observation, and shows that Malcolm Laing's research on the subject was any thing but deep. It was not from being privy to the secret machinery of these committees that Montrose was prepared to inform, or to warn the King. He was nominally and officially a member, but from the very first excluded from their privacy,

prove in Parliament, that Hamilton was not less faulty and false than Argyle; but rather advised that they should both be assassinated, which, with his usual frankness, he undertook to execute. As Montrose was then in prison, the interview was obtained indirectly, through the intervention of Cochrane, but Clarendon's information is otherwise correct. The assassination of Argyle and Hamilton was characteristical of Montrose."

This is a curious version of the calumny. It is Clarendon's anecdote, and it is not Clarendon's anecdote. Here is an admission that the historian of the Rebellion had recorded an impossibility when he said that Montrose came privately to the King. But Malcolm Laing is too fond of the scandal to dismiss it as David Hume had done. So he *invents* a new theory on the spot, and then issues a ridiculous fiat, that "Clarendon's information is otherwise correct." In no other record, contemporary or modern, but Mr Laing's, is it to be found that Montrose transmitted the monstrous and insane proposition through the intervention of Cochrane. Then how incongruous is our historian's *rifacimento* of Clarendon. The "frankness" of Montrose's offer, is obviously a trait belonging to that picture of a private and personal interview, betwixt the daring chief and the harassed monarch. Mr Laing grafts it upon his own extravagant idea, with which it is not in keeping, namely, of an offer, transmitted through some inferior emissary, from a captive within the walls of his prison. Were the idea conceivable, under the circumstances of Montrose's position at the time, for *frankness* we must read *insanity*. And in his anxiety not to lose hold of the only authority he possesses, our ingenious historian

to which he was no ways committed, and therefore did not betray. The very fact of his exclusion was one of the sources of his suspicion against them.

sacrifices sense to the sound of the word " interview," which he is loath to part with. He will not say in plain terms that Montrose, when under strict confinement, told one Cochrane to go and tell the King that he, Montrose, would assassinate, with his own hand, Hamilton and Argyle. That, indeed, is what Malcolm Laing means, though he prefers still to say that there was an *interview* betwixt the King and Montrose, but, as the latter was in prison, it was " obtained indirectly through the *intervention* of Cochrane," which certainly is not history, should it happen to be sense.

But where had Malcolm Laing obtained his new theory of the interview by intervention ?

When " the Plot," received its fresh impulse, in the fracas of " the Incident," the nature of which equally dishonest agitation we shall have to consider in another chapter, the share and influence of Murray of the bed-chamber, (who had been long connected with the secret machinery of the Covenant,) in these disreputable transactions, became more apparent. Sir James Balfour kept notes at the time of what depositions were read in Parliament, on the report of the Committee for the Incident, before which they had been taken, and among the rest, it seems there was read, " William Murray, one of the grooms of his Majesty's bed-chamber, his depositions taken by the Committee, 25th October (1641,) anent a discourse betwixt the Earl of Montrose and him, which he confesses he declared to his Majesty, and of his delivery of three letters from the Earl of Montrose to the King, and of his Majesty's answer to them. Item, The said William confesses his *taking of Colonel Cochrane* to the King's bed-chamber, but does not know what the Colonel said to the King."*

* From the freedom of examination, exempt from all legal rules, in-

This note of the covenanting Lord Lyon's, which Malcolm Laing had found among the manuscripts of the Advocates' Library, might have induced our historian to look a little more doubtingly upon Lord Clarendon's anecdote. It is manifest that in Murray's deposition, (though, like the rest of the evidence before that Committee, it was not given to the world, and has never since been discovered,) there was not a single word to indicate that this worthy of the golden key had introduced Montrose to the King. From the former depositions extorted by the Committee, which we have now brought to light, the unscrupulous and searching nature of these secret examinations is abundantly proved. And we will presently see that William Murray was not the man to withhold his knowledge from a covenanting Committee. Fortunately Sir James Balfour has preserved, even in his note, the sum and substance of that evidence, so far as relates to Murray's intervention betwixt Montrose and the King. It seems that Murray *had not* brought Montrose to the King; he had only been the bearer of some conversation, and of three letters. Why then did Malcolm Laing not controvert the anecdote of Clarendon by this unquestionable evidence, instead of labouring to palm it upon the incautious reader by avoiding all allusion to the manifest contradiction, except such as he thought necessary to bolster up the blunder? It was betraying the cause of history and truth, to adopt, in the insidious manner he has done, the imposing authority of Clarendon, in order that a

dulged in by these committees, it is impossible to say, without seeing Murray's deposition, whether the *conversation* mentioned in this note had occurred at this time, or formerly when Montrose was at large; or whether all the three letters had passed on this occasion.

scandal might still pass current, for refuting which the modern historian had ample materials before him. For there is not a syllable to be met with in any record whatever, to give the slightest countenance to Malcolm Laing's unfair assumption, that Cochrane had sought that interview as being fraught with a message from Montrose. On the contrary, it is absolutely proved that such could not have been the case. Our historian's theory would not even stand his own inspection, and he appears to have hurried it over, in those ill concerted phrases, as if anxious to conceal its faulty character from his own misgivings. We now see where he obtained his fancy of Cochrane's intervention,—a fancy which, be it observed, he presents to the reader as a fact, without a word of explanation. But he had omitted to supply a most material link, without which his theory is incoherent. Who had ushered Cochrane *into the prison of Montrose* to receive that desperate proposal of which Mr Laing says he was the bearer? That William Murray had obtained admission is true enough, and the source of his facilities for seeing Montrose shall be presently considered. But Cochrane, unquestionably, had not the *entrée* to our hero, nor is it hinted, in any record of the period, that any one of the depositions brought out the fact of this emissary having been with Montrose during any period of his confinement. All our illustrations of the strictness of that confinement, which demonstrate the impossibility of Montrose having quitted for a moment his prison, without the permission of the faction, equally prove that no one could be admitted to him, far less such an emissary, without their order to the Constable. If Cochrane was in confidential communication with Montrose in the Castle, the faction must have been privy to the interview, and if the re-

sult had been that insane proposal to his Majesty, covenanting Scotland would have been ringing with the scandal not many hours afterwards. William Murray did act as a letter-carrier, and anon the Covenanters not only knew the fact, but they were masters of the contents of the letters, from which, as we shall find, they vainly endeavoured to extract new matter against Montrose. Now if Cochrane, under these circumstances, really had carried the offer of assassination from Montrose, is it conceivable that the first person to hint or surmise the fact would have been Malcolm Laing in the nineteenth century?

But there is another passage in the Lord Lyon's notes, so conclusive against the theory of Mr Laing that we can scarcely believe he had examined the manuscript.

Lord Amond, who was implicated in the Incident, made a motion in Parliament, upon the 14th of October, to the effect of exonerating himself. Upon this, Sir James Balfour notes,—" His Majesty said, that since my Lord Amond went about to clear himself, so would he also. Since Colonel Home's depositions did bear that Cochrane was brought to his bed-chamber by William Murray, one of his grooms, it was true, indeed, he said, that Cochrane was brought by him there, being particularly recommended to him by his sister. When he came in, he shewed me, said his Majesty, he had some matters to impart to me, which did nearly concern the welfare of my affairs, but withal he adjured me not to reveal him, which on my word I promised him. * I confess he had many discourses to me, and *most of his own praises*. I will

* In the MS., it is not "reveal them," as Laing has printed it, but "reveal him," clearly importing that the King was not to give up his informer Cochrane. This is important in reference to the theory that Cochrane was upon this occasion the delegate of Montrose.

tell no more, unless the House's curiosity urge me to it, and that I may have his leave for the same. Only I would have my Lord Chancellor to find a way to clear my honour, that I be not esteemed a searcher out of holes in men's coats. I need not do so, for in the way of justice I will not stand to follow the best subject in all my dominions." The result of these conversations in Parliament belongs to our chapter of the Incident. Here we may remark, that this statement of the King's was soon after followed up by the repeated examinations of William Murray, and Cochrane, before the Committee, from which inquisitorial investigation, not a hint of the theory, first broached in Mr Laing's History of Scotland, was elicited. And is it possible to read even that statement of the King's without being satisfied that Cochrane had brought no such frightful offer, and, indeed, had not entered the bed-chamber as an emissary from Montrose at all, but had given the information on his own account. Neither from Murray, Cochrane, nor the King himself, did the covenanting inquisition elicit what Malcolm Laing records as a fact, and therefore we say it is a fable.

When we find, from a further inspection of Sir James Balfour's notes, that the Cochrane here mentioned was Colonel John Cochrane, a new light breaks upon our investigation. It was the same Colonel Cochrane whose deposition before the Committee of Estates, on the subject of a conversation held with Montrose at Newcastle, we have laid before the reader in the previous volume. * It will be observed that Charles, in his explanation to the Parliament, mentions that his sister, (the Queen of Bohemia and mother of the Palsgrave,) had

* See Vol. i. p. 328–330.

particularly recommended Colonel Cochrane to the King. This patronage identifies the Colonel Cochrane of the Incident, with that other whose deposition we have disclosed, wherein he speaks of his negotiation betwixt the Palsgrave and Montrose. Now let us look again at Malcolm Laing's story. Would Colonel Cochrane have been the man selected by Montrose to carry such a proposal to the King? Montrose knew that Cochrane had already furnished some of that evidence, such as it was, upon which the present summons against him depended. Montrose had petitioned Parliament, on the 3d of August, to be allowed a copy of Colonel Cochrane's deposition, along with the others out of which the accusations against him had been framed. * Would he have intrusted *him*, at this dangerous crisis, with an offer to the King to assassinate Hamilton and Argyle, — that nervous colonel, who, when told by Montrose at Newcastle, that high treason was abroad, replied, "that these were discourses whereof he desired not to hear, and entreated his Lordship not to enter any further in that purpose, but to leave it and speak of some other subjects." †

And so much for Malcolm Laing's reading of Lord Clarendon's anecdote. We now come to the version of Mr Brodie.

"But Charles still did not despair, and the spirit of

* "Tuesday, 3d August, Fintry (Graham) gave in a supplication in Montrose's name, to have a double of the depositions of Mr Robert Murray, Mr John Roberton, Napier, Keir, Blackhall, Walter Stewart, Mr John Stewart, and *Cochran*, and of his own,"—which petition was refused.—*Baillie's Letter to Spang.*

† We will presently find that Murray was at the bottom of this interview of Cochrane's, and thereby playing the game for the faction. Cochrane's disclosures were manifestly nothing obtained from Montrose at this time, though probably they comprehended the conversation at Newcastle.

Montrose was unsubdued. Even in prison he hatched new plots, and the time consumed about the trials of the incendiaries and banders was favourable to his schemes.* Having opened a fresh correspondence with his Majesty, through William Murray of the bed-chamber, he still insisted that evidence might be procured against the Hamiltons and Argyle, but advised, as the *simplest way*, to cut them off by assassination, which himself "frankly undertook" to *furnish the means* of accomplishing. According to Clarendon, to whom we are indebted for this portion of secret history, the King abhorred that expedient, though for his own security, and advised that the proofs might be prepared for the Parliament."†

Here again we have Clarendon's anecdote, and not Clarendon's anecdote. That to Clarendon alone Mr Brodie is indebted for the welcome fact against Montrose, he expressly admits. But he too had his misgivings about the accuracy of the anecdote, and our lawyer-like historian handles it as if it were burning his fingers. How warily does he avoid the rocks and shoals of this ticklish calumny. He will not say that Montrose went personally to the bed-chamber,—and yet he will only leave to inference that the proposal was transmitted through Murray. As to Cochrane's intervention, he rejects that theory in silence. Then mark the convenient paraphrase of Clarendon's expressions, "which he frankly undertook to do," into "frankly undertook —to furnish the means of accomplishing." This avoids that want of *vraisemblance*, which characterizes the

* How ridiculous does this appear when compared with the transactions we have traced. Was the lawless tyranny of Montrose's confinement favourable for hatching such plots?

† Brodie's Hist. Vol. iii. p. 150.

picture of Montrose clutching a dagger himself, and at the same time enables the calumny to dovetail with the *species facti* of the Incident, the theory of which is, that the Innocents were to be murdered, in a more or less martial manner, by a band of military desperadoes, at the head of two or three hundred men. And how scientifically calumnious is the notion of Montrose coolly advising all this "as the simplest way." He was closely confined in a fortress, unable to hold converse with a human being, but by the warrant of Parliament, and strictly watched by those who thirsted for an excuse to lead him to the block. To an ordinary mind it might have occurred, that to plunge a dagger into the hearts of the most powerful noblemen in the country, or to induce others to do so, was a scheme, under the circumstances, as far removed from simplicity as it was certain to prove ruinous to the perpetrators. But Montrose, it seems, was a born assassin, ever apt to council such bloody deeds, as the readiest and securest policy, as the "simplest way."

Such is Mr Brodie's reading of Clarendon. But it is too bad, in the Historiographer Royal for Scotland, not only to withhold Clarendon's real narrative, but, on the subject of that narrative containing its own refutation, to remain, if we may adopt Baillie's expressions, "as mute as a fish." He seizes with avidity the sole authority, Clarendon,—quotes his very words where they do not betray the blunder,—fills up the gaps of this damaged picture, by conjectures of his own given as facts, and so presenting the cobbled performance, tells us that "to Clarendon we are indebted for this portion of secret history."

We must presume that the theory now is, that William Murray had carried Montrose's proposition to the

King, either in that conversation he had with our hero in prison, or in one of the letters of which he was the bearer. And surely we are entitled to demand very substantial proof, before admitting that Montrose, in what Traquair terms "so dangerous and ticklish times," had entrusted to the conveyance of a third party, or ventured to put into writing, any offer of the kind. Now Clarendon does not say so, nor is there a hint of the fact in the contemporary annals of the Covenanters, the most unscrupulous that ever darkened historic truth with the muddy stream of calumny. How comes it then that Mr Laing and Mr Brodie, (who tell different stories, however,) are in this particular less merciful than the Covenanters, and labour to bolster up the blunder they had not failed to observe in Clarendon? The fact appears to be, that these historians, in their anxiety not to suffer Montrose to escape, had overlooked the circumstance that the covenanting faction were in such knowledge, of Murray's share in these dark proceedings, as prevented the idea ever occurring at the time of working with a desperate calumny of the kind against Montrose. The faction had discovered, as may well be supposed, Murray's intervention, and their own record puts us in possession of all they were able to extract from this correspondence betwixt the King and the object of their bitter persecution. It was upon the 25th of October that the Committee elicited, in private, William Murray's deposition containing the facts that he had carried Montrose's conversation and three letters to the King. Upon the 30th of the same month, by which time they were sufficiently informed, the "Speaker for the barons,"— no less a personage than Archibald Johnston's "A. B." correspondent, who was so deeply read in Buchanan,—brought the matter to bear upon the pur-

suit against Montrose. Of that date, in his place in Parliament, Sir Thomas Hope, in name of the barons, humbly intreats his Majesty, for better clearing the great business (the Incident) in hand, that he would give his subjects that contentment to let the Committee see the *last letter* which Montrose wrote to his Majesty. There can be no doubt that with regard to the other letters, and the conversation, deponed to by Murray, the Inquisitors had no questions to put to his Majesty, and that there remained no other point in the investigation on which to satisfy themselves, but that letter to which their curiosity was limited. Did the demeanour of Charles indicate that he had just been the depositary of a proposal to assassinate Hamilton and Argyle? On the instant his Majesty replied, to this demand of unparalleled effrontery, that he would at two o'clock show it to the Committee, at Holyroodhouse, provided they added some more of each Estate to that secret tribunal. He at the same time requested that the House would direct their warrant to the Constable of the Castle, to have Montrose brought down under a sure guard to the Abbey, when he himself would clear the business to them. This proposition was acceded to, and Montrose was ordered to be brought down at one o'clock. It is much to be regretted that no record of his declaration and demeanour, before his Majesty and this "Committee for reading of *the letter* from Montrose to the King," is to be found. But we are not left entirely to conjecture. From the Lord Lyon's notes, and the record of that Parliament, it appears that on the following Monday, Montrose, Napier, Keir, and Blackhall, presented that petition in which they craved the same relaxation which had been accorded even to thieves, fire-raisers, and other malefactors, and the House ordained

that this should receive no answer at all, with regard to any of the petitioners, until Montrose gave a positive declaration and answer, in explanation of certain words in that letter to his Majesty upon which he had been questioned. It was further ordained, that he should be again examined before the Committee for the Incident at two o'clock.

Accordingly :—" At Edinburgh, 2d November 1641. In presence of the Committee appointed by the Parliament, conform to the tenor of the Commission above written, compeared the Earl of Montrose, who being interrogated, what was the meaning of the letter sent by his Lordship to his Majesty on Monday, the eleventh of October last, bearing these words, or the like,—' that his Lordship will make known to his Majesty no less than what may concern the standing and falling of his Majesty's crown both and honour,'—answered, that for the words his Lordship did write he does not particularly remember, but, as his Lordship did understand them, their meaning was such as he did already declare before his Majesty and such others as were there present, which was, that being questioned whether or not his Lordship meant thereby the accusation of any particular persons, answered then as now, that his Lordship did not thereby accuse, or intend to accuse, any howsoever. And being also asked what was understood by the affirmative part of these words, answered, that he did mean nothing mainly in particular, but only what his Lordship, in his humble opinion, did conceive might contribute and concern the peace and quiet of the public." *

Sir James Balfour notes, that, on Wednesday 23d November, the Committee reported Montrose's answers,

* Original. Signed by Montrose, and Balmerino as President.

and that, "being read, under Montrose's hand, to the House, it did not give them satisfaction." That is to say, instead of obtaining from Montrose's own lips such a commentary, upon the letter submitted to their inspection, as they desired, they had only met with a repetition of that firmness and self-possession with which Montrose had already declined being driven into rash or particular accusations, in such a manner, and while thus at the mercy of the faction. But is this,—the last examination and declaration of Montrose in the matter,—consistent with the theory, that, in that letter, or by any other means, he had made the proposal of assassination to the King? That by means of a third party the proposal must have passed, if it passed at all, and that the agent could be none other than William Murray, seems to be proved. That it was not contained in those letters, seems also proved. Let us see then if that slender thread to which the story is now reduced, namely, the possibility of Murray's having carried it, from Montrose's conversation, verbally to Charles, be tenable or not.

When we find that, to the very last hour of his confinement, Montrose was only to be arrived at through a warrant from the Parliament directed to the Constable of the Castle, and that he was never "brought down" except under "sure guard," the question occurs, how did William Murray come into this private contact with the imprisoned nobleman? Had he been a covenanting agent, there would have been no difficulty in understanding how and why he came there. But a groom of the chamber,—the long-trusted body-servant of Charles,—the enemy, *ex officio*, of the faction—was not he, of all persons, next to the King himself, to be kept away from Montrose? In the scraps of his secret de-

position, preserved to us in Sir James Balfour's notes, we discover no symptoms of a scrutiny as to how he reached Montrose, nor is there any record of the Constable of the Castle having lost his office in consequence. By the sufferance, by the desire of the Covenanters, and by that alone, could William Murray have accomplished his confidential interview with Montrose. In that case, however, Murray must have been a rogue,—another serpent in the bosom of the deluded Charles. And if such were his character, nay if a single covenanting inclination had entered the composition of that worthy, the idea is inconceivable that he was the medium of Montrose's alleged frank offer, and that without the faction, who had elicited from Murray all the other circumstances of the interview, having obtained a hint of what would have crushed Montrose at once. It becomes then of great importance to illustrate the degree of confidence and favour with the Covenanters, enjoyed by Murray at this time.

We have elsewhere mentioned, on the authority of Bishop Guthrie, * that the time arrived when Montrose obtained "certain knowledge" that William Murray was the man who stole copies of Montrose's letters to the King, in order to send them to the Covenanters. The infatuation, with which Charles continued to trust those who had been about his person from boyhood, was a marked trait in his character that ever continued till reflection came too late to save him. From one of Sir Edward Nicholas's letters to him at this time, † we find an indication of the same infamous system still working against the devoted King, and of his slowness or disinclination to believe the fact. "I assure

* See Vol. i. 322.

† Dated 29th October 1641.

your Majesty," says Sir Edward, "I have been warned by some of my best friends, to be wary what I write to your Majesty, for that there are many eyes upon me, both here and in Scotland, and that letters that come to your royal hands, do, after, oft miscarry, and come to others' view." Upon which Charles had noted on the margin,—"it is a Ley." The King, however, in that very correspondence refers to facts which appear for a moment to have startled himself. * Yet his trust in Murray seemed still unshaken. In a marginal note of the 5th of October, to a letter of his Secretary's on the subject of his return, Charles says,—"when ye shall see little Will Murray, then ye shall know certainly not only of my return, but also how all will end here." This affectionate epithet had arisen in other years. Like the Marquis of Hamilton, William Murray had in boyhood impressed himself upon the too plastic

* The Secretary having written that the Queen had been for some days disappointed in her expectations of letters from his Majesty, Charles notes on the margin, "I wonder at this, for all this last month, every third day at furthest, I have written to her." *Letter, 27th Sept.* 1641. Again: "Your Majesty's letter to my Lord Keeper was carefully delivered to his own hands yesterday before the sitting of the Parliament; but his Lordship tells me *that the effect of it was known here some days before he received it;* which is an infinite prejudice to your Majesty's affairs here; such anticipations of your Majesty's directions in business of importance renders the same impossible, or extremely difficult to be effected; and I observe that the *perfect intelligence* that is here, of all your Majesty's resolutions there, puts life and spirit into some here, who, without that encouragement and light, would, I believe, pay more reverence to your Majesty's counsels and actions." *Letter dated 21st October* 1641. To which Charles replies, on the margin:—"Of this I *much wonder*, for, on my credit, I *acquainted no body* with the contents thereof, and am very confident that none here knew whether I writ to him or not; therefore I think it fit that you should try as much as may be how this has come, and whether it be an intelligence, or conjecture."

heart of Charles. He was the son of William Murray, minister of Dysart in Fife, and through the interest of an uncle about Court had been brought as a playmate to the young prince. * Another uncle, however, (the Reverend Robert Murray, already so prominent in our illustrations,) was a powerful link on the side of the Covenanters, and the position of little Will Murray with that faction will be seen from what follows.

Immediately after the King's return to England, a letter or petition was addressed to him on the affairs of the Kirk by the Commissioners of the General Assembly, in which this remarkable passage occurs: "And seeing William Murray,—of whose faithful service your Majesty has had long proof, and of whose abilities and good affection we have experience * * * * † this time in the public affairs of the Kirk,—hath the honour to attend your Royal person in your bed-chamber, and thereby continual occasion of giving information, and receiving direction from your Royal Majesty in the affairs of the Kirk, therefore, we do, with all earnestness and humility, intreat that your Majesty may be pleased to lay upon him the charge of the agenting of the affairs of the Kirk, about your Majesty. Likeas we, for our part, do heartily recommend him to your Majesty for

* Bishop Burnet says,—"Murray of the bed-chamber had been page and whipping-boy to Charles I., and had great credit with him, not only in procuring private favours, but in all his councils; he was well turned for a court, very insinuating, but very false; and of so revengeful a temper, that rather than any of the counsels given by his enemies should succeed, he would have revealed them, and betrayed both the King and them. It was generally believed that he had discovered the most important of all his secrets to his enemies. He had one particular quality, that when he was drunk, which was very often, he was upon a most exact reserve, though he was pretty open at all other times."—Hist. of his own Time, p. 423.

† Manuscript torn.

that effect, being confident that the General Assembly shall approve this our recommendation, and prove thankful to your Majesty for this and all others your Majesty's Royal favours to the Kirk of Scotland."*

The last stronghold of the calumny against Montrose is thus broken down. If it were conceivable that, with all his frankness, he would ever have deputed the nephew of his own clergyman, and clerical adviser Robert Murray, to be the bearer of an offer of assassination to the King, would the Covenanters have continued in total ignorance, as they ever were, of this important fact in possession of their favourite agent, who at the very time was betraying to them Montrose's confidence? We can now perfectly understand William Murray's key to the Castle as well as to the bed-chamber. He had been used by the Covenanters, in their anxiety to obtain a case against Montrose, to decoy the frankness of that nobleman's nature into a more perilous predicament, and the manœuvre had to a certain extent succeeded. From this, and other services of the kind, arose the gratitude of the Kirk to William Murray. And so much for Mr Brodie's theory of the calumny, upon which he so exultingly founds his severe assertion that,—" Montrose, who had already so fully shown

* Contemporary manuscript, Advocates' Library, endorsed, " Coppie of Letter sent from the Commissioners of the Assembly, and his Majesty's answer thereto." To the recommendation of Murray, the King replies: " Likeas we, having had long proof of the faithfulness of William Murray, who attends us in our bed-chamber, do hereby declare that we most willingly accept of your recommendation of him for his receiving of these leets [of six, out of which a vacancy in churches was to be filled,] and agenting the other affairs of the church, directed to him from the Presbyteries and Officers of the church," &c. " Whitehall, the 3d of January 1642."

See also a private letter from Robert Baillie to William Murray, printed by Lord Hailes, (Memorials, Vol. ii. p. 180,) in which Baillie signs himself, "your loving friend and agent, R. B."

his aptitude to commit the base and dastardly crime of assassination," &c *

We must now return to Clarendon, who after all is the heaviest metal against Montrose. The calumny is found in Clarendon's manuscript, and therefore he must have heard it or imagined that he had heard it. We hold the passage to be destroyed by itself, and that it is noways essential to the defence of Montrose, or incumbent on his apologist, to elucidate the source of the great historian's error, any more than it is admissible for Montrose's enemies to redeem that error by fancies or fictions of their own. When we find, however, such a writer as D'Israeli,—*et tu Brute*,—asserting, or rather insinuating, that Clarendon had obtained this improbable story from the King himself, it is time to look more closely at the history of its propagation. But we approach the noble historian with a respect that is not to be diminished by the unique opinion of Mr Brodie, who has " no hesitation in pronouncing" that the author of the History of the Rebellion was guilty of forging documents for the purpose of supporting his own views and political opinions.

Lord Clarendon left his works in manuscript, and consequently there is this difference betwixt him and those who have adopted his blunder, that they have published to the world what he only recorded in his closet. Is it

* Lord Nugent's version of the calumny, in his life of Hampden, (Vol. ii. p. 96.) is not worthy of particular examination. It is a weak repetition of Mr Brodie's, whom the noble author blindly follows. He might have sifted the matter in Clarendon with greater effect than Mr Brodie had done, for the edition of Clarendon with the suppressed matter had been published between and Mr Brodie's work. It is amusing to find Lord Nugent giving as Lord Clarendon's words,—thus, " which he frankly undertook *himself to manage*,"—a variation of Mr Brodie's reading.

demonstrated that if the historian had lived to publish his own works, the calumny in question would have seen the light of day? Is there not rather a presumption to the contrary, afforded by the fact that the anecdote had been noted when Clarendon was so ill informed, (as to the by-play of the Scotch troubles,) that he did not know Montrose was a close prisoner in the Castle? The Clarendon manuscripts, very voluminous, and intricate in arrangement, were left in a state that necessarily qualifies with more or less of conjecture the explanations of their latest and most accomplished editor, as to the precise plan of the noble author. It is surely not too much to assume that, if they had passed through the press under his own correction, they might have been purified from the calumny in question. The Earls of Clarendon and Rochester, sons of the Great Clarendon, first took upon themselves the responsibility of presenting to the world the gift of their father's history, or historical memoirs. They possessed for that important task various manuscripts, partly in the shape of a History of the Rebellion, and partly in the shape of a Life of the great author by himself. In the manuscript of the Life certain passages had been marked to be extracted, and inserted in corresponding places of the manuscript of the History; and the theory is plausible, though founded on conjecture, that after having been engaged for a time in preparing the History of the Rebellion, Clarendon had been induced, by the persecution against himself, to alter his original plan, into a history of his own Life, but that his patriotic spirit had subsequently recalled him to his first intention. Besides these involved manuscripts, the noble editors possessed a complete transcript that had been made by Clarendon's secretary, Mr Shaw, and in which

the extracts from the manuscript of the Life were inserted in the places marked out for them. Upon this the editor of the latest edition passes the material observation, that " this transcript could not have been finished long before Lord Clarendon's death, for the original manuscript was not completed till 1673, and his Lordship died in the following year ; it is natural, therefore, to suppose that the transcript was never revised by the author." Dr Bandinel proceeds to prove that it could not have been revised by Clarendon, for his secretary had in some places inserted a phraseology that was only accurate and intelligible when understood of a person writing his own life, a palpable blunder which of course was not permitted to go forth.

Now that passage, which contains the anecdote against Montrose, is an extract from the manuscript of the Life inserted into the complete transcript of the History ; and the question is, are we to assume that, had Clarendon himself revised that transcript, he would have deliberately and advisedly retained the anecdote under which the memory of Montrose has suffered. Unquestionably he would have found, in the transcript by his secretary, various blunders and misapprehensions of his task, and most probably some errors and crudities of his own. Would the corrective pen of the great author have passed, innoxiously, that passage which, from all that Clarendon himself has taught us in general of mankind, and in particular of Charles and Montrose, is as destitute of *vraisemblance*, as, on searching the Records of Scotland, we find it to be mistaken in point of fact ? Even had Clarendon published the passage, it must have been rejected for the reasons we have shown, though the source of his error could not be ascertained. But until the question we have put can be answered with absolute certainty

in the affirmative, which we apprehend it never can, the calumny in question never attains the value some have attached to it, of being the deliberate historical record of Clarendon against Montrose.

The recent perfect edition of the History has, moreover, revealed a fact very important to the present inquiry. While, into the transcript from which the work was originally published, had been taken that calumnious passage from the original manuscript of the Life, another passage, in the original manuscript of the History, had been excluded and suppressed. It is now restored, with the necessary explanation, in the appendix to the last edition.* We have seen that, no doubt with the best intentions, Lord Clarendon's sons had modified to a less startling form the alleged offer by Montrose. On perusing the passage which had been suppressed, however, we cannot help thinking that if the former had been entirely suppressed, and that now restored given in its place, the noble editors would have gone nearer to put the world in possession of that version, the publication of which would have been sanctioned by Clarendon himself. For the suppressed passage is not only fuller in its narrative of these transactions connected with the King's visit to Scotland in 1641, but it is *substantially accurate*, and will stand the test of comparison with the secret history of Scottish affairs that has been discovered since. It avoids the leading mistake of the other passage, for it mentions that Montrose was *under restraint*, and the causes of that restraint. Indeed it would have been surprising had the same ignorance appeared in this passage, for it is ex-

* Vol. ii. Appendix B. referred to in p. 13 of that volume. I need hardly say that I have relied with perfect confidence on the accuracy of Dr Bulkeley Bandinel's explanation of the state of the Clarendon manuscripts.

pressly founded upon what, says Clarendon, "the King hath told me," and what "I have heard the Earl of Montrose say." And after a much more particular account of the Plot and the Incident than is found in the former narrative, but without a hint of Montrose having ever made any violent proposition to his Majesty, beyond the proposal to impeach Hamilton and Argyle, Clarendon adds,—"whatever was in this business, I could never discover more than I have *here set down*, though the King himself told me all that he knew of it, as I verily believe."*

Mr D'Israeli, apparently not attending to the history and structure of the two passages, has framed his chapter of the Incident upon an indiscriminate consideration of them both. Hence he appears to have assumed that Charles himself told Clarendon the anecdote of assassination, and that consequently it is not to be doubted. Still, however, the critical commentator had not failed to observe the error in point of fact. But willing, as we have said, to sacrifice Montrose at the shrine of Clarendon, he accepts, adopts, and blends together both accounts, and then speaks of "that frank offer of assassination, which the daring and vindictive Montrose would not have hesitated to have performed by his creatures, for he was himself then confined in the Castle by the Covenanters." † But Charles, who must have well remembered the imprisonment of the Plotters, and how completely they were in the power of

* The entire passage will be found at the end of this volume.

† Commentaries on the Life and Reign of Charles I. Vol. iv. p. 330. chapter of the Incident. Mr D'Israeli's chapter on the Marquis of Hamilton is also weak, though ingenious and amusing. After much serpentine ingenuity he leaves the problem of the Marquis's character more perplexing than he found it.

the Covenanters, could not have furnished Clarendon with that erroneous version. And yet, since our commentator will refer the anecdote of assassination to the King's own narrative, we cannot understand the principle upon which he rejects the terms of it as given. To us it appears that the two passages are not only distinct and separate, but incongruous ; that they are different versions of the same transactions, and that both could not have been intended for publication. The one originally published, and which contains the admitted mistake in fact, is also more meagerly informed in the details. It does not profess to have been derived from the King or Montrose, and bears internal evidence of not having been derived from either. The other passage, accurate in its facts, and fuller in its details, refers to the direct authority of both, and contains no allusion whatever to the story of Montrose's offer of the dagger. Then its details are in perfect keeping with all the light which secret history has shed upon the characters of Hamilton and William Murray. Clarendon declares that the King himself told him that it was Murray who pressed upon his Majesty the impeachment of Hamilton and Argyle, before the storm of the Incident broke loose. He declares, too, that Montrose told him that Murray, after he had been "a principal encourager" of the impeachment, and after undertaking to prove "many notable things" himself, "was the only man who discovered that whole counsel to the Marquis." If, then, the calumny had ever for a moment dwelt with the King, from Murray's foul whisperings it must have arisen, but whisperings so cloudy and false as not even to be adopted, though they may have been secretly instigated, by the Covenanters. When we know all this, and discover that Murray, instantly after the bruit of

the Incident, was not only the confidential creature of Hamilton, but the pet agent of the Kirk, and when we connect these proceedings with the more than equivocal conduct of Hamilton and Murray during the prior stages of the covenanting revolution, then even were it proved, as it is not, that Charles told Clarendon that Murray had brought him such a proposal direct from Montrose, the only legitimate conclusion would be, that it was a falsehood of Murray's, to effect the destruction of him who was the enemy of double-dealing traitors and "seditious preachers."

Clarendon knew the dispositions of Charles the First. So we find recorded, even in that crude and hasty anecdote, that the King *abhorred* the expedient. But, at that time at least, Clarendon knew not the dispositions of Montrose, or he never would have imagined such a difference between them, that Montrose could offer and frankly undertake what raised the instant abhorrence of Charles.* It is known that Charles trusted and honoured Montrose after this period more than he had ever done before. But unless the King's character too be given up to infamy, it is impossible to reconcile that alleged abhorrence with his subsequent conduct. And surely Montrose, and Napier who had reared Montrose, and by whose advice and approbation he was guided, knew the character of Charles the First. Would the ghastly frankness of that offer not have been checked

* Lord Nugent observes, (Vol. ii. p. 95,) that "Clarendon, *forgetful of the crimes* which he imputes to Montrose in the early part of his history, says, in the latter part of it, that he was not without vanity, but his virtues were much superior." His Lordship seems not to have reflected, that Clarendon neither published his own history, nor revised the transcript. The fact of his finished character of Montrose being so inconsistent with the calumny in question, is another reason for believing that it would never have seen the light under Clarendon's own auspices.

by the certainty of the feelings with which it would be rejected, by the most pious and Christian King that ever looked beyond an earthly crown. No knight of romance ever devoted himself to serve his mistress with more honour and purity, than Montrose his King. He might offer him the incense and the services of an enthusiast, but of an assassin, never.

> " I'll serve thee in such noble ways
> Was never heard before,
> I'll crown and deck thee all with bays,
> And love thee ever more."

And could he have borne that lofty port,—for, says the malicious Burnet, he was stately to affectation,—if in an evil hour he had thus elicited the abhorrence of him to whom he was so devoted? Or would he have dared to look heaven in the face as he reared the standard, of that Christian King, to surround it with a halo of heroism that will be the star amid those troubles till History is no more.

Mr D'Israeli, after adopting, though in a confused and slovenly manner, the alleged authority of Clarendon, offers the miserable defence for Montrose, that his times were not abhorrent of such deeds. Nay he even hints that our hero had served a sort of apprenticeship in a great school of assassination.* But of the King's part in this fanciful scene, the same author says,—" forbidding with abhorrence the horrid expedient of the *military adventurer*, Charles, however, consented that the proofs of treason should be laid before Parlia-

* " Events of this nature the still barbarous customs of the age had not rendered so singular and repulsive as they appear to our more subdued manners; the Court of France, where Montrose had some time resided, offers several remarkable instances, even under the eyes of Louis XIII., called the Just."—*Comment.* Vol. iv. p. 322.

ment." How unjust is this to Montrose! Upon no reflection or information as to his education, his habits, or his private pursuits, is that severe remark founded. Was the mind of Montrose less enlarged by knowledge, his passions less purified by a lettered genius, than the King's? Read his Essay on the Supreme Power,—read those poetical compositions written during the few moments his genius could snatch from that short and stormy career,—read his speech upon the scaffold,—and say if such a mind could upon any pretext have placed assassination under a category of virtue. Did he really say to Charles,—'practice, Sir, the temperate government, it gladdeth the heart of your subjects, and then they erect a throne there for you to reign—but Hamilton and Argyle must be removed, assassination is the simplest way, I will do it myself, as they manage such matters in France'!

The universal silence of his contemporary enemies, who could not fail to have known the fact had it occurred, is sufficient to neutralize the single record of Clarendon, even had the terms of that anecdote not destroyed itself. And against the remark of Mr D'Israeli, that Montrose had learnt to consider assassination a virtue, we may place the hero's own words:—

> "Reciprocal the flame must prove,
> Or my ambition scorns to love;
> A noble soul doth still *abhor*
> To strike, but where 'tis *Conqueror*."*

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* Montrose's lines in praise of Woman.

## CHAPTER VI.

### HISTORY OF THE INCIDENT.

We have now seen upon what authority it is that Montrose has been branded with the name of assassin. But he is, moreover, accused of having "projected the massacre of the Covenanters in an hour of unsuspecting confidence,"* and the same author adds this impressive admonition: "Should there be any who still lament the death of Montrose, let them yet not be over hasty in the condemnation of his enemies for inflicting it; but reflect, that men who had narrowly escaped his assassinations and massacres, were naturally steeled against compassion." The allegation of this wholesale murder depends upon the truth, in all its details, of a new plot, which, says Mr Brodie, "was, from its unexpected nature, denominated the Incident." But it was rather from its baseless nature that it obtained this denomination. Cloudy in its conception, and carefully withheld from the light of truth, it was never even susceptible of a definite or intelligible name. Hume has characterized it as having neither cause nor effect that was visible, nor purpose, nor consequence. It ended, indeed, when the factionists were glutted with the spoils of monarchy, as if it had never been. But its cause was too surely that malign conjunction, between Hamilton and Argyle, to which we have already

* Mr Brodie.

pointed. Its effect was a tempest of agitation to delude the people through their fears, and to rouse that indignation in the King which, having reached his lips, was sure to subside and leave him to his fate. The purpose was, that traitors might pursue their prey in troubled waters,—and the consequence, that they triumphed. *

Charles having granted "Religion and Liberties" beyond the original demands of the covenanting insurrection, the scramble for place and power, the grand object of the faction from the very outset, now commenced in earnest. "The tough dispute," says their own excited chronicler, "betwixt the King and Parliament, was about the election of Officers of State, of the Council and Session. Upon this point much dispute had been in the treaty at London. We alleged it was our law, and old custom,† to have all these elected by voice of Parliament,—that the election of these by the King alone had been the fountain of our evils, and was like to be a constant root of corruption, both in Kirk and State, if not seen to. His Majesty took the nominations of these to be a special part of his prerogative,—a great sinew of his

* The Historian of the Church of Scotland, although he had by no means thoroughly investigated the secret history of this period, had formed a just estimate of the Incident. Speaking of the King's concessions in 1641, Dr Cook observes—"the regulations indeed struck at the very existence of the Monarchy, leaving the Sovereign only the shadow of royalty; but had not new commotions exasperated the passions, and inflamed the bigotry of the Covenanters, these regulations would in all probability have been modified, and a government nearly similar to that under which we now live might have been established."—*Hist. of the Church*, Vol. iii. p. 28.

† By "old custom" is not meant existing and long established custom, but some "antient practique," alleged for the nonce. We have seen that the great antiquaries of the Covenant were Sir Thomas Hope of Kerse, and Archibald Johnston.—See anecdote of the latter in reference to this. Vol. i. p. 341.

government,—the long possession of Kings in Scotland,—the unquestionable right of the Kings in England. Much dispute in private was about this great matter."* In this dispute the King as usual went to the wall. Well knowing that the demand, to have all those appointments made by "advice of the Parliament," intended to deprive himself of any power of choice whatever, Charles had struggled hard to save that vital prerogative, the design of attacking which Montrose, too, instantly appreciated. Charles, naturally unequal to such a contest, and now in the hands of the faction, could do no more than make an effort to break his own fall. He flattered himself that the demand would be satisfied with a prudent selection on his part, and with the concession of the Parliament's right to scrutinize the list he presented to them. On Thursday, the 16th of September, the draft of the act of concession was read in the House, when the King rose and said, that their answers to his doubts having manifested to all, and satisfied himself, that they would never knowingly derogate from his just power, and that they would have forborn to press this unusual demand, had it not been from a just sense of his necessary absence from this country, therefore, without further delay, his answer was briefly, that he accepted of that paper; and that he would renew the commission of the council, with their advice, and would condescend upon a certain number, which hereafter he would not exceed, and did openly declare that by their advice he would take the like course with the Officers of State, and Lords of Session, and would give in a roll of them to-morrow. His Majesty hoped that his selection would be such as they would accept without question, but if by chance they

* Baillie's Letter to Spang.

took exception to any, he did persuade himself they would do it with reason. "Howsomever," adds Sir James Balfour, "the House had received this gracious answer from his Majesty's own mouth, they all arose and bowed themselves to the ground. Then was the act voted without a contrary voice, the Lord Yester's only excepted. After which Kerse, the speaker for the barons, had a pretty speech to his Majesty,* in name of that body, for his so gracious answer to their demands."

The King seemed mindful of that advice not to choose men factious, nor popular, nor much hated, but those of whose worth he had personal experience, and whose appointment would create as little bad blood as possible among the disappointed. As the whole appointments, however, were now thrown open, the selection upon this principle was by no means easy. Baillie observes, that when they obtained their demand, "there fell in for the nomination of the persons to their places vaiking, *questions inextricable.* For the Council and Session, there was not much dispute; neither for the continuance of Roxburgh in the Privy-Seal, or the Advocate, Treasurer-depute, or Justice-clerk. But the question was for the *Chancellor*, the *Treasurer*, and the *Register*." Now it happened that these desirable offices were all bespoke by the faction. The seals had been in the custody of Hamilton ever since the resignation of Archbishop Spotiswood in 1639. Argyle, with whom the double-faced favourite was now so unnaturally colleaguing, had destined for himself that first place in the kingdom, for which he had been an unsuccessful competitor in 1635, when the churchman acquired both the place

* Probably Sir Thomas did not quote Buchanan on this occasion.

and the bitter enmity of Argyle. The treasurership was to be taken from Traquair, (who was lucky if he escaped with his life,) and given to Loudon; and the Clerk-Register, Sir John Hay, at this time confined in the Castle of Edinburgh, was to be the prey of Archibald Johnston, who thirsted even for his blood, rather than not get his place. The new roll of privy-councillors might well have satisfied them, for it embraced every leader of the faction, except the ungrateful Balmerino, while the names of Montrose, Napier, (who had been a privy-councillor for nearly thirty years,) Keir, and Blackhall, were not of the number. In the roll of Officers of State, Sir Thomas Hope retained his place of Lord Advocate, and the King acceded to the general desire that Loudon should be Treasurer. But the Earl of Morton was named for Chancellor, and Mr Alexander Gibson, younger of Durie, as Clerk-Register, to the bitter disappointment of the other two expectants, whom Charles rightly judged to be the most dangerous, and the most disreputable of the faction.

Argyle, notwithstanding his having shown to Rothes that "he had no such intention," had determined to be Chancellor, and when Charles presented to Parliament the list excluding him, his rage was ungovernable. Though the Act professed that the King was to appoint with the advice or consent of the Estates, Argyle never meant it in any other sense than that the Estates were to appoint without consent of the King. The appointment of Morton was an excellent one, under the circumstances, and being the father-in-law of Argyle, seemed sufficiently politic. But no sooner was the list presented than the Dictator rose, and, with one of those bursts of passion so characteristic of him, protested against Morton, for four reasons. In the first

place, he said, that high place would shelter Morton unjustly from his creditors; in the second place, he was a contemptuous rebel, being often *at the horn*; thirdly, he deserted his country in her greatest need; and fourthly, he was decrepit and unable. Sir James Balfour, who noted the scene on the day it happened, (20th September,) says that Morton "replied with great moderation." He took the King and Parliament to witness, that never had he, directly or indirectly, wronged my Lord Argyle, nor any other, far less his country. As for his debts, he and his friends would take such a course therein that no man would suffer by him in a penny. 'The Earl of Argyle,' said Morton, 'I educated for twenty years, and esteemed it an honour. It was myself and my friends who moved King James to pass from a process of forfeiture actually raised against the Earl of Argyle's father, and his family. When he had no right to the office of Justice-General, but an old lease expired a hundred years since, I moved his present Majesty, who will bear me witness, to grant him the office of Justiciar of his own country, and the whole Isles, with four thousand pounds Sterling in money. When his brother had sold Kintyre to the Earl of Antrim, and the surety was signed, I moved his Majesty, at Argyle's earnest desire, to cause Antrim quit his bargain that Argyle might have Kintyre. And these, I publickly protest to God, are the worst offices I have ever done to the Earl of Argyle.' This cutting rebuke would have silenced an ordinary factionist, but it was only in the battle-field that Argyle felt abashed. He had nothing to urge against Morton but his debts, so he replied with the disreputable argument that, although he would neither compete with nor answer this speech of benefits conferred, he was sure he

had engaged his whole estate for Lord Morton, who but for him would not have been sitting there.*

While this barrier remained, the King could obtain no answer to his repeated demands for an explicit reception or rejection of his list. Two days afterwards, Sir Thomas Hope, in the name of the barons, came forward with an act, (fitly presented by one who was in the habit of signing his letters A. B.) "for giving their voices in the election of the Officers of State, and Councillors, &c. by billets, or schedules," instead of *viva voce*. In the debate upon this proposition, the chief reason urged was this insulting one to the King, "that men, for fear or hopes, might stand in awe to use the liberty of their consciences." To which his Majesty made this reply,—

THE KING.—"For myself I protest to God I should never be displeased with any man for his free voice giving, neither for that shall I ever sit on any man's coat, and, in my opinion, the man that fears to voice freely is not worthy to sit in this House."†

In the afternoon of the same day, as if to increase the confusion, the Laird of Innes presented a formal complaint to the House, that their speaker, Sir Thomas Hope, had been slandered in the forenoon by these words from the Earl of Home, viz. "that he, Sir Thomas, had reason to alledge the Session, because he had won most by it." This complaint was dismissed on the mediation of the King, who desired they would allow words spoken of no evil intention or reproach to pass, and that they would enter on the business for which they came there. The Earl of Morton then rose, and entreated his Majesty to name some one else to be Chancellor, since the naming of him had bred such a

* Balfour. † Ibid.

stir in the House; and, as he would rather never have been born than become an instrument of division betwixt the King and his people, thanking his Majesty for such a testimony of his favour, he did lay it down at his feet. His Majesty willed the House to proceed, and give him an answer to his list; but being answered with silence, then he said:—

THE KING.—"My Lord Morton has done worthily and nobly, like himself, and as a man of honour. * His offer I very unwillingly accept. But since I perceive him to be ungracious to the House, I will name another, and remember him at whom, without any reason, you have so stirred."

For once Charles took a firm position, and determined not to name Argyle. But he again made a selection that ought to have been unexceptionable even to Argyle himself. He named Loudon, who was not only a favourite leader among them, but one of the clan Campbell. Not an objection could be stated, but Argyle betook himself to this plea, that before any answer could be given to his Majesty upon the new nomination, there were two questions to be disposed of; the first was, that the precise meaning of the act, by which the King was to make these appointments with the advice of his Parliament, should be explained; the second, whether the vote should be *viva voce*, or by billets. On the 28th of September, Charles entreated the House, that since he had granted what none of his predecessors had ever done before, they would leave off their disputes about words, and come at once to the point of voting Loudon to be Chancellor, yea or nay. He protested that new

* This is the same Lord Morton of whom Lord Napier had recorded, ten years before this scene, that "in his own nature he was noble and generous."—See before, Vol. i. p. 55.

questions and difficulties emerged daily, which appeared to him to spring up in a night's time, like mushrooms, to stop the business in hand. 'Yea,' he added, 'it grieves me to find the House meet my frankness so ill, and, seeing how it is, I put it to you once more, Loudon to be Chancellor, fit, or unfit?'—Cassillis said, he did not like to walk in darkness, and would have the act explained first. Roxburgh replied, that he lamented this stumbling-block, that none could pretend to say that the King was not to nominate, and that no other answer or advice could be returned than fit, or unfit. His Majesty added, that contrary to his usual custom, he would make this boast to them, that never King had done more for subjects, that he had expected a better return, and since they thought so little of his nomination as not even to give him an answer, he would nominate no more to them. 'These questions,' said the captain of the covenanting body-guard of lawyers, 'betwixt his Majesty and his Parliament, are like the stretching out of two lines which, the further they are prolonged, the wider they separate. Therefore, in name of the barons, and in all humility, I intreat his Majesty to be graciously pleased to make such a nomination as will be acceptable to the House, and so put an end to these questions and difficulties.'—'Proceed,' cried the King, 'and leave off all new questions, else, I protest to God, I will name no more to you.' The debate ended with a determination that the Estates would consult apart that evening, under a positive promise to answer the question, fit or unfit, next day in Parliament. Accordingly, on the 29th, his Majesty again put his question, and urged that, in civility, he was entitled to an answer. Argyle, however, maintained that the previous questions must be first disposed of, before they could proceed to vote on the

subject of Loudon's qualification; and he was supported by the Earl of Cassillis and Sir Thomas Hope. 'I have heard,' said the King, 'so much debate on the subject that I desire to hear no more, and I give the House till to-morrow to advise, otherwise Loudon shall have no office at all.' Cassillis caught the advantage, and humbly intreated his Majesty *not to threaten his Parliament so.* To which Charles replied, that he neither did nor would threaten them, and that whoever thought so wronged him. A compromise was at length proposed, by the speaker for the barons, to this effect, that they should proceed to the vote upon Loudon, reserving entire all questions on the subject of the approval of all the other appointments. To this the King acceded, and, on the 30th of September, the act of nomination of Loudon to be Chancellor was unanimously passed.

The private correspondence of Charles with his secretary, recently published from the Evelyn Collection, affords a light which renders the notes left by Sir James Balfour, of this struggle for the Chancellorship, perfectly intelligible. In a letter, dated Westminster 29th September 1641, Sir Edward Nicholas thus writes: "By letters to particular persons, which I have seen, dated 25th September, it is advertised from Edinburgh, that your Majesty hath nominated the Lord Lodian to be Chancellor." On the margin, Charles had noted in reply, "it is Loudon not" (Lodian.) In a subsequent letter, dated 3d October, the Secretary again writes:—"The party here who we say hath the best intelligence from Scotland, which is Mr Pym, and young Sir Henry Vane, report that the Earl of Argyle is Chancellor of that kingdom; it seems *it was so designed.*" This calls forth another note on the margin from the King, namely,

" ye may see by this that all their designs hit not, and I hope before all be done, that they shall miss of more." This, and the struggle in Parliament on the subject affords a curious illustration of that anecdote of " indirect practising," which the Committee of Estates extorted from Sir George Stirling. Sir George had been shown, probably by Argyle himself, that nobleman's reply to Rothes, disclaiming a desire to be Chancellor, and the Parliament had indignantly white-washed what " Keir would have laid upon my Lord Argyle." Yet it is manifest there was a deep design, in which the corresponding faction of England was participating, to effect this appointment; and Charles flattered himself he had in a great measure succeeded in saving his prerogative in Scotland, by defeating Argyle. It may be seen, too, from the above, that Montrose had the better side of that argument with the Reverend Robert Murray, in which it will be remembered Murray maintained that the Scotch Commissioners were doing no more than " sweetly seeking peace." Nor had Montrose erred in his anxious estimate of the crisis when he honoured this clergyman with his explanations and views. Six months after their conversation had scarcely elapsed, when the blow he anticipated was struck, and " the tyranny of subjects" prevailed in Scotland. Neither was he wrong in his anticipations of the effect of such a measure. " I assure your Majesty," says his honest secretary, writing on the third of October, " it is here resolved, (if my intelligence doth not much deceive me,) to press your Majesty at the next meeting in Parliament for the like act, touching the election of Officers and Councillors here, as your Majesty hath granted to the Scots; and in this I believe your Majesty will find a more general concurrence and accord than hath been in any one thing this

Parliament; for many here say that otherwise all the great offices and places of Councillors here will be filled up with Scotsmen. I beseech your Majesty to vouchsafe to consider well of this particular, and be pleased to conceal that you have the advertisement of it from me." To which Charles replies: "You shall do well to advise, with some of my best servants there, how this may be prevented, for, I assure you, that I do not mean to grant it."

Next to the stir about the Chancellorship, there was, says Baillie, "most ado for the Register." This was the place upon which Archibald Johnston had set his heart, and the remark of his reverend partisan, that,—"the body of the *well affected* States, thought that place the just reward of Mr Johnston's great and very happy labours,—notwithstanding, by *Argyle's means most*, whereof many wondered, Durie *got the prize*"—is ludicrously illustrative of covenanting patriotism. Betwixt the disappointments of Argyle and Archibald Johnston, however, a factious episode occurred, which troubled the waters more effectually than any of the previous agitations of the secret machinery of the Covenant.

When the storm of the Incident arose, there were at least three individuals, all of them very influential in the progress of the movement, somewhat discontented with the King, and not a little alarmed at the prospect of any settlement of the troubles in Scotland, that was to leave them in their present position. The Marquis of Hamilton found himself, and most deservedly, in *mauvais odeur* even with the King. There can be little doubt that Montrose had detected or acquired the strongest grounds for suspecting the malpractises of the favourite, and that he considered it his duty to en-

deavour by all means to rouse the too confiding Monarch to a sense of the dangers that beset his throne and the constitution. But this opinion of Hamilton was not peculiar to Montrose, and every page of secret history on the subject, that has been since disclosed, proves that the impressions against the favourite were as just as they were general. For many years the King had supported Hamilton against every hint and information to his disadvantage. But if Charles ever indulged in one moment's solitary reflection upon the progress of the Covenant, his eyes could not fail to be more or less opened to the duplicity of him he had trusted. That he had expressed himself most severely of the Marquis, even before the story of the Incident broke out, is narrated in no doubtful terms by the Earl of Lanerick, Hamilton's own brother, and one who was duped by him even longer than was the King.

While such was Hamilton's position at this crisis, Argyle had just "missed of his end," which was to attain his old ambition, the Chancellorship of Scotland. And Mr Archibald Johnston had as yet not been able to discover his own name in any list of Councillors or Officers of State, presented by the King for the approbation of Parliament. It is worthy of remark, that Baillie connects the storm which now arose, with these disputes and discontents of the faction. And this is most likely to be true, though not in the sense of Baillie's theory of the connection. In the account of it which he transmitted to his correspondent abroad, he declares it to be the general belief, that "from these divisions the last plots (the Incident) which brake out, did either arise originally or were resumed; for,—when a while they had slept and were laid aside before his Majesty's coming, and all that was *alleged*, about Montrose's in-

tentions to accuse Hamilton and Argyle in face of Parliament, was made grossly odious, and by the beheading of Mr John Stewart, the confessed calumniator, the progress of these designs were choaked,—behold at this time, the same or the like counsels are taken up again." The reverend partisan then proceeds to give his own prejudiced and excited account of the matter which will be found in the note below.* The Plot and the Incident were indeed very nearly related, and the latter was but the resuming, in a more monstrous and mystical shape, of those calumnious tactics, against the King and

* "Sundry wise men even then began to smell some worse thing. For at once there broke out a noise of the most wicked and horrible plots that has been heard of, that put us all for some days in a mighty fear. It was noised everywhere that, upon Captain Walter Stewart's relation, Hamilton, Argyle, and Lanerick *only for company*, should have been called for out of their beds, that same night it was revealed to Amond, as it were to the King's bed-chamber. When they should have come, they were to have been arrested as traitors, and to have been delivered to the Earl of Crawford, waiting on with armed soldiers at the foot of the Blackfriars in the garden, by them to be cast in a close coach and carried to the shore; for there was a boat attending for their convoy to one of the King's ships, which for some weeks had been in the road, for no other purpose, that was known, but that that should have been the prison out of the which they were to be brought before the Parliament to answer challenges of the highest treason. But in their arresting, if they should have made any resistance, Crawford and his soldiers were ready to have stabbed them. Cochrane was said to have given assurance for bringing his regiment from Musselburgh to command the causey of Edinburgh; and that night, with the assistance of many friends in the town, to have made fast or killed, if need had been, so many of the Parliament men as were suspected might have been heady. For the prisoners' relief, *ways were made to deliver the Castle to Montrose and his fellow prisoners.* The Kers, Humes, Johnstons, and the most of the borders were said to have been in readiness, and under warning towards march to Edinburgh; the soldiers of Berwick also, who were yet not disbanded. These *horrible designs* breaking out, all the city was in a flought. Hamilton, Argyle, Lanerick, took a short good-night with the King, and fled to Kinneel." *Baillie's Letter to Spang.* It will be seen that this account, (apparently in good faith,) from the over-excited clergyman, differs from Lanerick's, and also implicates Montrose.

Montrose, which we have been enabled to expose in our illustrati ons of the former.

On the 30th of September, the King informed the House, that the author of a certain public and notorious slander, against a very eminent and noble member of it, had been with his Majesty, to ask pardon for the offence, to acknowledge that the slander was groundless, and humbly to make his submission. This was the manner in which the excellent King had hoped quietly to dispose of the rash act of a young nobleman, whose spirit appears to have outstripped his judgment. Lord Henry Ker had sent a challenge to the Marquis of Hamilton, proclaiming him a traitor, and defying him to mortal combat. This was publicly presented in the presence-chamber, by the hand of the Earl of Crawford. But Hamilton was too old a courtier not to be able to turn this challenge to account, and in the most insidious and hypocritical manner, he made a merit with the King of disregarding and forgiving this rash act of a hot-headed youth, and accepting of the apology his Majesty insisted upon. But the Argyle Parliament took up the case for Hamilton. The Duke of Lennox and the Earl of Mar endeavoured to persuade the House that his Majesty's condescension in making this explanation was sufficient, and more than if the offender had done it in person; and that, as the Marquis had expressed himself satisfied, the affair should be dropt. Such was the desire of the King. But the Parliament determined that he who had thus called in question the loyalty of the long-tried friend of the Covenant, and present leader of the movement, should appear before them, and put his hand to the recantation they dictated for him, to stand in the Record of Parliament. To this ignominious sentence Lord Henry was,

with great difficulty, compelled to submit. Immediately afterwards the House bestowed that very equivocal boon upon the Marquis, namely, a *character*, "as a true patriot, and faithful and loyal servant to his Majesty," by act of the Parliament 1641. No steps appear to have been taken at this time against the Earl of Crawford for presenting the challenge, although he had done so with the good will of one who had long despised Hamilton. But we shall find that his temerity did not remain unvisited.

Upon Tuesday, 12th October, the storm burst. On that day his Majesty came to the House, accompained by many followers, and more than usually excited. The President alluded to "this day's accident," as having interrupted the good progress of affairs, which they had hoped to have reported. Charles replied by a statement, which we must give in the precise words of the very interesting note of it, taken by the Lord Lyon at the time.

"His Majesty answered, that he behoved to confess the fault was not theirs. But, let it light where it might, he came there to settle their Religion and Liberties, which he had done, and none should ever draw him from that, neither should the devil prevail in the country. 'Yea, my Lords, I must needs tell you a very strange story; yesternight (Monday the 11th,) my Lord Hamilton came to me, I being walking in the garden, with a petition of very small moment, and thereafter, in a philosophical and parabolical way, as he sometimes had used, he began a very strange discourse to me, showing me how his enemies had used all the calumnies, envy and malice could hatch, to misinform and exasperate my wife against him, which very much grieved him, and he would never believe that his Majesty were any ways accessory to such

base plots, and withal craved pardon to retire himself this night from Court.' His Majesty having thus spoken, took out of his pocket a letter, written from the Marquis of Hamilton to him this morning, and commanded the clerk to read it openly in the House, containing a relation of his Majesty's favours to him, and concluding with his sworn loyalty and best service during his life to his Majesty. The King, with *tears in his eyes*, and, as it seemed, in a very great grief, said that he did very much wonder at this letter, for it was very well known that if he had believed the reports, of those of nearest respect and greatest trust about him, long before now he had greater reasons than at present to have laid him fast. But he must tell them he had not only then slighted all such reports, but contrarywise took him by the hand, and maintained him against them all."

The Earl of Lanerick, Hamilton's brother, who was now Secretary of State for Scotland, wrote a letter to some friend unknown, dated, "Kenneel, this 22d of October 1641," * containing a relation of the Incident. He says,—"You should blush when you remember to have owned so much friendship for one branded with the black name of a traitor; or to have loved a person that was capable of ingratitude to a deserving master; for though I should have forgot the duty I owe his Majesty as a subject, whereunto I am sworn, and tied by the strictest oaths can be imposed upon a Christian, yet, if I had retained the least sense of honour, I could never have forgot his Majesty's particular favours to me, who from nothing hath heaped both fortune and honours on

* Printed in Hardwicke's State Papers, from the Hamilton Collection. The name of the person to whom it was addressed does not appear.

me."* It is impossible to read this letter without being impressed with the belief, that, however credulous and duped in the matter, the writer is perfectly honest. And this is confirmed by all that is known of Lanerick. He was led by his brother, who was considerably his senior, into positions hostile to the interests of Charles, and detrimental to the stability of the throne, and of which he afterwards bitterly repented. He could not believe that his brother was a selfish, calculating traitor. Clarendon records of Lanerick many noble characteristics, and among others that, "he was in all respects to be preferred to his brother; a much wiser, though it may be a less cunning man; for he did not affect dissimulation, which was the other's masterpiece; he had unquestionable courage." Sir Philip Warwick drew precisely the same distinction betwixt the characters of the brothers, and that excellent loyalist had heard Montrose pronounce the same judgment. † But what is yet more interesting, Lanerick himself tells us in this letter, and with a naiveté illustrative of the very fact, that Charles, too, had at length discovered the distinction. ‡ Do these concurrent testimonies not outweigh the artful page of Burnet?

* He was created in the year 1639, Baron Polmont, and Macanshire, and Earl of Lanerick or Lanark. In 1640, he was appointed Secretary of State for Scotland, and was allowed to retain that office in 1641. His aspect, in Vandyke's portrait of him, is in keeping with a sentence in the above letter, viz.—"Truly I was not so much troubled with the hazard of losing a life wherein, God knows, these many years I have not taken great pleasure, as with the prejudice I saw this would bring to his Majesty's affairs, and the peace and quiet of this poor kingdom."

† See before, Vol. i. p. 123.

‡ "Since my coming into Scotland, his Majesty can bear me witness, if, in every particular wherein I conceived he had an interest, I have not carried myself as a dutiful subject, and an affectionate servant to him.

Upon the narrative of this nobleman, then, so far as he narrates facts of his own knowledge, we may safely rely.

Late in the evening of Monday, the 11th of October, the day alleged as that of the intended Plot, and when "the hour was near past that this should have been put in execution," Lanerick, in whose mind were neither plots nor suspicions of plots, was sent for by Hamilton and Argyle. "After," he says, "I had refused four several times to come to them, for I was engaged in some company I was loath to leave, I went and found them in my brother Lindsay's * house, where they acquainted me with every particular; and Captain Stewart and Hurrie, being present, said they would make good their depositions with the hazard of the last drop of their blood." This was immediately after Hamilton had delivered himself to the King in the manner described by his Majesty. When Lanerick joined them, he obtained the following very marvellous information, which we cannot do better than give in his own words.

"Upon the 11th of this current † (October,) General

It is true, *the opinion I found he had of my brother*, I conceived, made him in some measure jealous of me, whereof, upon divers occasions, I strove to clear myself, and professed to him that my affection to his service was such, as, if I believed my brother were not so dutiful to him as he ought to be, no man should more willingly contribute to bring him to his deserved punishment than myself. His Majesty then, and upon *divers other occasions*, was pleased to say he believed me to be an honest man, and that he had never heard any thing to the contrary, but that he thought my brother had been *very active in his own preservation*." Lanerick proceeds to state, that he watched his brother's actions, but could detect no interested treachery.

* Lord Lindsay was married to Lady Margaret, the sister of Hamilton and Lanerick; the same Lord Lindsay, be it remembered, who had "named the Earl of Argyle to be Dictator."

† In the Hardwicke collection this is printed, "Upon the 2d of this cur-

Leslie sent to the Parliament House to desire my brother and the Earl of Argyle, before their return to Court, to come speak with him at his house, with as great privacy as could be, which they did ; and with him they found one Lieutenant-Colonel Hurrie, to whom, the General said, my brother and Argyle were much obliged ; and desired Hurrie to acquaint them with that particular which he had already discovered to him; which Hurrie did, and told them that he was informed there was a plot, that same night, to *cut the throats* both of Argyle, my brother, and myself ; the manner of the doing of it was discovered to him by one Captain Stewart, who should have been an actor in it ; and should have been done in the *King's withdrawing chamber*, where we three should have been *called in*, as to speak with his Majesty about some Parliament business ; and that immediately two Lords * should have entered at the door which answers from the garden, with some two hundred or three hundred men ; where they should *either* have killed us, or carried us a board a ship of his Majesty's, which then lay in the road."

Such was the disclosure to Lanerick, and all the particulars he could give his friend, on the 23d of October. Never was there a story that more manifestly bore the stamp of falsehood than this. The King throughout is made the leading conspirator. This bloody scene was to be enacted in the King's private apartment, where the victims were to be called in to have their throats cut, or (for it seems this was a plot with an alternative) carried on board a ship of his Majesty's!

Hamilton and Argyle stood second and third on

rent," clearly a mistake for the 11th, as the Lyon's notes prove. The date is important.

* Noodle and Doodle?

the list of privy councillors, of which Lennox was at the head. Did they send for Lennox upon this occasion? They had just listened, by their own account, to the most monstrous example of the highest class of leasing-making that could possibly occur. When a hint was abroad of the treachery of Hamilton or Argyle, the system was, not even to investigate the truth of the rumour, but instantly to crush both the scandal and the promulgator. But his Majesty, it seems, was not to be so protected, though falsehood was stampt on the face of the accusation. Charles himself, not a fortnight before, had been mainly instrumental in quashing that appeal to mortal combat, from Lord Henry Ker against Hamilton as a traitor. It was Charles, too, who in former years had arrested the career, when the combatants were in the lists, of Lord Reay against the bosom, not of Hamilton, but of a creature of his, in a question deeply affecting the Marquis's honour and fidelity. Was it within the possibilities of nature, that this same Monarch could have lent himself to a plot for the butchery of Hamilton, Lanerick, and Argyle, in his own chamber? Sir James Balfour slurs over, in his notes, the contents of Hamilton's letter; but it is obvious, from his Majesty's speech after it was read, that it had contained, in more explicit terms, Hamilton's by no means equivocal insinuation to the King, on the previous evening. Well might the lips of Charles boil with indignation, and his gentler heart overflow at his eyes, when complaining, to that rebellious Parliament, of this insult from the cold-blooded traitor he had so long protected and cherished. When, in former years, Hamilton was accused of a treasonable design upon the crown of Scotland, an accusation never cleared up in his favour,

and when the Earl of Portland even cautioned Charles, for the sake of his personal safety, not to suffer Hamilton to be in his bed-chamber, the high-minded Monarch, affectionately and in private, told Hamilton of the rumours against him, assured him of his unalterable love and confidence, and that very night made him sleep in the bed-chamber. But now, when the case was reversed, not a step was taken to clear the honour of Charles. No meeting of the privy-council was called, to sift and dispose of this matter as a monstrous and palpable leasing-making against the King. Under pretence of presenting a petition, the conscious Hamilton went forthwith to the King himself, and with that foul scandal wounded the bosom wherein he had been cherished. And this, too, upon no other grounds than a wild impossible story from that equivocal character Colonel Hurry. "This," continues the Earl of Lanerick in his letter, "was only the deposition of one witness; on which my brother and Argyle* would not so far build as to form any accusation; nor yet so far undervalue it, as not to labour to bring it to light, if any such thing there were. Therefore, my brother, when he spoke to the King, told him only in general that he heard there was some plot intended against his life, the particulars

* "My brother and Argyle!" Did Hamilton ever tell his colleague Argyle, that upon the 27th of November 1639, he, Hamilton, thus wrote to the King: "The Earl of Argyle is the only man now called up as a true patriot, a loyal subject, a faithful counsellor, and above all, rightly set for the preservation of the purity of Religion. And truly, Sir, he takes it upon him. *He must be well looked to, for it fears me he will prove the dangerousest man in the State.* He is so far from favouring Episcopal government, that with all his soul he wishes it totally abolished. What course to advise you to take with him, for the present I cannot say; but remit it to your Majesty's serious consideration."—*Hardwicke's State papers.*

whereof he could not then condescend upon, because he could not sufficiently prove it. But thereafter * Captain Stewart being sent to him, confirmed all Hurrie had said in his name. There were likewise great presumptions found, from the depositions of one Lieutenant-Colonel Home, and divers others who had been spoke to, to be in readiness against that night, and promises made to them of making their fortunes, if they would assist in a design which was intended. These were motives enough to move my brother and Argyle to look to themselves, and not to return to Court that night."

The first advantage, which the champions of Religion and Liberties made of these "horrible designs," was to take military possession of the town and castle. The Covenant had been accomplished, or greatly aided, by means of continually collecting together the mobocracy, and raising them to the highest pitch of fanatical excitement. The "grand national movement" was upon the present occasion of a very different description. The Argyle faction issued its fiat by proclamation that, as there was too great a conflux of people to the town, all who were not there of absolute necessity should quit it immediately. The superiors of various districts were commanded to give in lists, to General Leslie, of all lodgers and other inhabitants, in order that it might be known precisely who were in the town. Strong guards were placed in every direction, and, in short, a military despotism was established in the course of a few hours in this land of unanimity and covenanting liberty. And what is well worthy of remark,

* *i. e.* After Hamilton's interview with the King in the garden. It is obvious that Hamilton had not told his brother all that he had said to the King.

it appears that, so early as the 14th of October, a flaming account of the new plot had been transmitted to the corresponding faction in England, who in like manner made it the excuse for taking military possession of London. * But while the intelligence was sent there, upon which the resolutions passed, as noted below, not an explanation of the matter in favour of the King was transmitted. Sir Edward Nicholas writes to the King, on the 20th of October, in the greatest anxiety and agitation, saying, that the well affected in London were applying to him in vain for information. "It is thought," he says, "that this business will this day in Parliament be declared to be a greater plot against the Kingdoms and Parliament in England and Scotland, than hath been discovered at all." He then intreats his Majesty to send an authentic account of the matter, and adds,—"if Mr Secretary Vane had written to me, or any of his friends here, a true narration of that business, it would have given much satisfaction here, and stopped the causeless alarms that are here taken upon the noise of it; that business being now, *by the relation of divers*

* In the English Parliament, on the 20th of October, "*Mr Pym* doth report the heads for a conference to be desired with the Lords, concerning the safety of the kingdom. First, that a letter from the Committee in Scotland, dated October 14th, be read at the conference, and that this House hath taken into consideration that there was a design somewhat of the same nature in this kingdom to *seduce the King's army*, and interrupt the Parliament here, that there was the like design at that time in Scotland. Next, to mention that the principal party named in that design in Scotland, the Lord Crawford, is a person *suspected to be popishly affected*, and therefore may have correspondence with the like party here. Next, that it hath been lately published here, that some things were to be done in Scotland, *before it broke out there*, therefore we may suspect some correspondence here; and so upon these grounds propound that a strong guard be kept in the cities of London and Westminster; and, secondly, that care be taken for the future for the defence of the whole kingdom."—*Rushworth.*

*Scotchmen here*, made much worse than I believe it will prove in the end." Charles notes on the margin,—"it is now under examination, which, as soon as it is ended, you shall be sure to have."

We must now return to the conversation in Parliament on the 12th of October, and mark the difference between the treatment of a foul and manifestly false accusation against his Majesty, and an accusation against Hamilton or Argyle most likely to be true.

The depositions taken that morning from Captain William Stewart, Lieutenant-Colonel Hurry, and Lieutenant-Colonel Home, were read to the House. The King then desired that the Marquis of Hamilton should be restrained from coming to Parliament, and "that the House would give him justice of him, since he had so calumniated him, otherwise they could not deny him to take it in the best way he could." The Earl of Roxburgh, and Lord Amond, it seems, had been implicated by the depositions; for after they were read, Roxburgh on his knees, solemnly disclaimed that ever, directly or indirectly, he did know any thing of this business; and Lord Amond said that he was never commanded by any but his Majesty and the Lord General, neither did he think that any one else could command him, as they did not, to have any hand in so base a plot. Sir James Balfour then notes another affecting and cutting speech from the King. "His Majesty," says the covenanting Lord Lyon, "still exaggerates my Lord Hamilton's going away after that manner from his Court, neither did he think that he could have found, if any such thing had been, a *surer sanctuary than his bed-chamber*. But since he had made such a noise and business, it surely behoved to be for one of two reasons; either fear, which he thought

could not be inherent to many Scots, far less to him, or else a great distrust of him. His Majesty said, moreover, that he would undertake that William Murray and the Lord Kilpont should compear and answer, whenever the House should be pleased to call them to an account."

The Chancellor then proposed a thorough investigation of the whole matter in a "Parliamentary way," and the parties implicated to be put under arrest. We have seen that, much to the annoyance and detriment of Montrose and his friends, the accusation against them had been investigated, or rather conducted and organized, by means of endless examinations taken down in writing before the Committee in private, of which copies were afterwards refused. The present affair was equally abhorrent of the light, and the faction determined to take the benefit against the King of the same lawless machinery. The nobleman who now rose to make this proposal was *Lord Lindsay*, whose own case of calumny had been so tenderly treated, and so instantly cleared by the Parliament. * He insisted that the witnesses ought to be examined by a Committee. The Earl of Roxburgh maintained that in justice the examination should be a public one, and the witnesses so examined. Lindsay continued to urge his proposal, and said that *his Majesty's Advocate*, and the Advocates for the Estates, would show that such a public examination had never hitherto been adopted by any Parliament. The King answered, that Parliament was not tied to the rigour and form of laws,

* See before Vol. i. page 386. It is worthy of remark, that although Montrose petitioned in vain for the depositions upon which he was accused, yet when "the Lord Lindsay desired to know what was spoken by the Earl of Montrose which reflected upon him, the paper was read, and *delivered to him that he might consider thereof.*"

but to make laws, and only to follow them in such cases as they pleased. "Some people," he added, "underhand endeavour to raise jealousies betwixt me and my good subjects, whom God, I am confident, in his own time will discover. Therefore my desire is, that the House do proceed in a public examination of these men, for *I do not understand private examinations.*" Lauderdale proposed an impartial Committee, to be drawn off the House. Montrose's father-in-law, Southesk, declared for a public examination in the face of the whole Parliament. Mar urged the same. Sir Thomas Hope (of Kerse,) was for a Committee, "as the only surest way for examination and trial of the whole business." But Charles again replied that he wanted a public trial, and protested that he was wronged if any other mode were adopted. The House adjourned without coming to any resolution except that the Earl of Crawford, Lieutenant-Colonel Stewart, and Colonel Cochrane, should be separately confined.

The debate or rather the dispute was resumed on the following day, being Wednesday the 13th of October, when the same disposition to compel the King to submit to a secret process, that placed his character and crown at the mercy of an unscrupulous faction, was manifested. The following dialogue then occurred as noted at the time by Sir James Balfour.

THE KING.—"I have been in great conflict with myself, that Hamilton should have thus so scurvily used me. Now I hear he has gone, and has debauched the other two with him. As for his brother Lanerick, he is a very good young man and I know nothing of (against) him. * As for Argyle, I wonder what

* It is remarkable that this speech of the King's had been falsely re-

should move him to go away; I know not what to say of him, and am in a very great doubt whether or not I should tell what I know of Hamilton; but now I will not."

LOUDON.—"If the Parliament do not command all, his Majesty will quickly see the Parliament turn into a convention of the whole kingdom, and so in a most dangerous confusion."

SIR THOMAS HOPE.—"In the name of the barons, I desire that His Majesty will be pleased to remove from about his person and court those that are cited to the Parliament, * and now are the common incendiaries of the kingdom, and the stirrers up of such tumults."

THE KING.—"In my judgment it will nowise conduce towards the peace of the kingdom, which is the aim of all, to put public affronts upon men of quality.

ported to Lanerick. For in his letter of the 22d October, already quoted, he says: "The next day (the 13th) I was informed, his Majesty had let fall some expressions to my disadvantage in the Parliament House; whereupon I again sent to him, begging him to believe that I had not a heart capable of a disloyal thought to him; and that if I believed my brother had any, he should not be troubled with thinking how to punish him, for I had both a heart and a hand able to do it." Mr D'Israeli in his chapter of the Incident, (much too slight and crude we presume to think, considering its importance to the character of Charles,) quotes this passage in Lanerick's relation, and exclaims, "Here is an offer of assassinating his own brother, should that brother prove to be a traitor! What extremes of passion agitate politicians in their crooked course." Is not this remark hasty, and unjust to Lanerick? The source both of Montrose and Lanerick's heroism towards Charles must have been downright insanity, if they imagined that *assassination* was a way to extricate him, or that the King would receive such a proposal but with the extremest horror. We rather understand the excited expressions to mean no more than this, that he had the heart to denounce even his own brother as a traitor, if he thought him one, and the hand to make good his accusation in *the lists*.

* *i. e.* To the bar of the Parliament. Here the cloven foot peeped out.

It is better to quench a flame with water, than add oil thereto."

The rest of this stormy dispute consisted of the demands of the factious nobles on the one hand, that the King should exile from his person and court all upon whom the seal of their displeasure had been fixed, while, on the other hand, Charles raised his voice in vain for justice, against the foul calumny that had now been cast upon himself. He demanded,—as Montrose had done, and like him, too, the King demanded in vain,—" that now they would go on in a public and speedy trial, that those implicated, especially himself, might have their honour cleared." Day after day he represented to the Parliament how deeply his honour was wounded—that he called for a speedy, exact, but a public investigation —that if they refused their King a request so reasonable, he knew not what it was they would do for him. In vain every nobleman of right feeling, with the Duke of Lennox at their head, pleaded for the honour of the King, and for even-handed, day-light justice. The speaker for the barons, who had learnt from Buchanan that " Parliaments have judged Kings," perseveringly struck in with some proposition or other to save the machinery of the faction, and was ever seconded by Lord Lindsay. But even the Chancellor declared that, " to avoid jealousies on either hand, he thought that a public trial was most fit." And what is yet more remarkable, although Lindsay had pledged himself to the House that he would obtain the opinion of the first law officer of the crown, against the practice of an open investigation, (speaking no doubt from experience of the Advocate's secret counsels to the Covenant,) when Sir Thomas Hope was called in to plead the point, upon this occasion at least, he neither betrayed his high call-

ing, nor his beneficent master. "The King's Advocate being licenced by the House, pleaded long, and at last concluded that no trial could be so clear as that which was public, for the King's honour; for a Committee would still in some men's minds leave some jealousies and suspicions on the King's honour; for what touched his Majesty, it of necessity behoved to be kept up." Those distinguished factionists, the Chancellor and the Lord Advocate, having thus both decided in favour of the King's demand, nothing, it might be thought, remained but to obey it. No sooner, however, had the Advocate ceased, than up rose the Advocate's son, Sir Thomas the younger, and thus delivered himself.

Sir Thomas Hope.—"The most secret way is the best way, and yet both ways are legal, and the Parliament have it in their power which of the two ways, either public or private, to do it, but for *secret* and exact trial, the *private way* is undoubtedly the best."

The King.—"If men were so charitable as not to believe *false rumours*, Sir Thomas, I would be of your mind. Since I see the contrary, you must give me leave to think otherwise. But, however the matter go, I must see myself get *fair play*. I protest that if it come to a Committee, neither my honour, nor those interested can have right. *Nam aliquid semper adherebit.**"

Morton. "The King is slandered in this business, and himself seeks the best way; for *veritas non querit angulos.*† And since his Majesty seeks the best way, the public way, I do not see how the House, in justice, can deny it."

* *i. e.* Some of the dirt will be sure to stick. This reply of the King's was well founded. See the false rumours on the subject of "the Plot" contained in the excited letters of Baillie; and which we have only now been able fully to expose, by bringing the secret depositions to light.

† *i. e.* Truth seeks no corners.

ROXBURGH, "(*on his knees.*)—I beg at the King and Parliament, that since it did begin in public, so it should begin and end."

Marischal supported the King's demand. Glencairn opposed it. At length the King, highly and most justly indignant, declared that, in presence of God he would speak it, by Hamilton he had learnt, on the night before he went away, that he was slandered, yea *basely slandered*, and withal he desired the President to put this question to the House, why they deny his just and reasonable request? and he added, 'if they will refuse me this, I protest to God I know not what they will grant me.' The question was either not put, or not answered; for the House immediately took up the petitions of the Earl of Crawford and Colonel Cochrane, who prayed that they might be heard in their own defence, which were read, and then his Majesty spoke again:

THE KING.—"Now I must begin to be a little evil natured, which is to desire that these two petitions may receive no answer at all, till first I get an answer to my just and reasonable demand; which if you will not do, then will I be forced to make a public declaration to all the world, that my Parliament has refused me justice."

But the King got no answer, and thus stood the matter at the close of the debate, on the 15th of October. In the meanwhile, Lord Lindsay had been with Hamilton and Argyle, and from the following dialogue, (derived from the same authentic source,) which occurred in Parliament on Saturday the 16th, it will be seen that the factionists varied their tactics a little in support of their disgraceful cabal.

THE KING.—"I have nothing to say this morning

to the Lords, but only to the barons and burgesses, from whom I do expect that justice which is due to be given to a loving Prince by good subjects.

Sir Thomas Hope, "*(for the barons.)*—I would have the parties interested, Hamilton and Argyle, to be present, * before any thing be done, since their away going was only for avoiding tumult."

The King.—"For my own part, I will never have a hand in recalling them. I do protest, that if I were to recall them it might reflect on me. But if the House will condescend to a public trial, they have friends enough, let them send for them, for I will not do it."

Lindsay.—"I have been with them, and have not only heard from themselves, but under their hands, that they never had any the least jealousy of his Majesty; and for him, his service, and the peace of the country, they would lay down their lives and fortunes; and as for the away going they will shew very good reason for it."

Lennox.—"I would have a public examination, without their being called here by the King, or Parliament."

The King.—"I have granted many things of importance to the House, and I desire you to shew me any thing that ever you have granted me. And if it be come to this that we must ask the opinion of two

* When the subject matter, however, was the accusation against Montrose, even in the shape of a criminal libel read against him before his judges, his presence was dispensed with. Had the same law that was so recently enforced in favour of Argyle been held to operate equally in favour of Charles, both Hamilton and Argyle would now have been in the Castle on more substantial charges than Montrose; and the only reason why they would not have suffered the fate of John Stewart would have been, that Charles would not have permitted them to be executed.

or three noblemen that are gone away, before I can have justice, it is a thing most strange."

KINNOUL.—" A public trial were just. It is our King that demands it."

THE KING.—" Sir Thomas Hope's motion is a new one, and, by the orders of the House, mine ought to have precedency. And if the House use me thus, e'er long I will make my declaration to all the world, that it may see what I have done to you, and for you, and how you have met me. If these be the fruits of your Covenant, I call the Lord to judge it."

THE LORD ADVOCATE.—" I am of opinion that since this trial is *ex nobili officio*, it will be more conducive to the clearing of all parties that the trial be public; but if the noblemen that are away will petition, either by themselves or their friends, that they may be heard before any thing be done, it behoves his Majesty and Parliament to give them an answer, yea or no."

SPYNIE.—" In my judgment there be only two reasons why the House will not grant his Majesty's demand,—either ignorance or obstinacy. Ignorance it cannot be. Nor will I say that the House will be obstinate,—to do their King and Sovereign justice."

LINDSAY.—" I still insist that these noblemen may be present, either by themselves, friends or lawyers, before any thing be concluded in this business."

SEAFORTH —" By the *Covenant* we are all tied to see that the King's honour be not wronged; and as leaving this business to be tried in a public way does nearly concern his Majesty's honour, I do not see why it should not be so granted by those that have sworn the Covenant."

The Earl of Mar then proposed, that the friends of

the fugitive noblemen should write to them to return, and that in the meantime matters should remain as they were. In this proposition his Majesty appears to have acquiesced in silence ; and on the 19th, when he met the Parliament again, the following short but excited conversation occurred.

THE KING.—" My Lords and gentlemen, this day, as I conceive, was for the trial of this business. If their friends have nothing to say, then I desire this matter should be publicly tried. And I desire to know of my Lord Chancellor, whether or not he sought my leave to go to them, or if it was I who sent him."

LOUDON.—" Humbly on my knees I begged his Majesty leave to go to them. I have been with them, and they humbly beseech each member of the House to rest assured that they would sacrifice their lives and fortunes for his Majesty's honour and the peace of the country."

THE KING.—" By God, the Parliament, and they too, behove to clear my honour." *

The Chancellor then requested that the Estates might have that afternoon to consult about the mode of procedure, and the King adjourned the House accordingly. But on the two following days a repetition of the same scene occurred. Lord Lindsay distinguished himself by " speaking long for a private examination, as the most fit way of all other, and that in his opinion the most fit way was the most lawful way." The

* Charles, it seems, had lost none of that energy of manner and expression, when excited, which, twelve years before, Lord Napier had noted of him. (See Introductory Chapter, p. 37.) The coincidence between the notes of Napier and Sir James Balfour, taken at very different periods, verifies the picture, and indicates that each had on those several occasions taken down the precise expressions of the King. But his violence (so shamefully provoked) was little deeper than his lips.

Lord Chancellor again declared, " that these noblemen that are away, when they shall have the honour to be here, would clear to the House, his Majesty, and to the whole world,* that they *never had of his Majesty the least jealousy or suspicion.*" To which Charles replied, " that their so away going had given too much reason."

At last, however, the supporters of the King, and the King himself, gave way, in this fruitless struggle to save the justice and honour of the kingdom. The Duke of Lennox observed that they were no further advanced than the first day, that his Majesty's honour was suffering all the while, and that he would rather agree to a private examination of the matter than none at all. Charles then declared, that had Hamilton and Argyle come to him and demanded justice, instead of the public proceeding they had adopted, he might have agreed to a private consideration of the matter. " But," he added, " as my Lord Duke hath said, rather

* Yet they have bequeathed their calumny to history. The histories of Mr Laing, Mr Hallam, Mr Brodie, nay, even of Mr D'Israeli, are disfigured with the adoption of it still. The sincerity of the Earl of Lanerick's declaration (who was the dupe of his brother) may be believed. But that Hamilton and Argyle (by withdrawing as they did, instead of scorning the rumour, or summoning a council to protect the King from leasing,) meant to indicate a belief, with which they were not impressed, that Charles was of a plot to destroy them, is beyond a doubt. Their loyal messages now were the usual covenanting tactics. They now confessed that " they never had of his Majesty the least jealousy or suspicion !" Yet even the King's friends in London had already been half persuaded that his Majesty was really implicated. On the 20th of October, Sir Edward Nicholas complains that he has only got " a few words from Mr Secretary Vane" to show the King's friends, at which " they seemed much troubled, as not knowing what to say to it." And on the 21st he writes entreating the King to send him a true relation of the matter, " for I find that your servants here are much disheartened that they are kept so long in darkness, in a business *so highly importing your honour, and your Majesty's own person.*"

than no trial, if there be a private way of hell, (with reverence I speak it,) let it be used. And if they will shew me that the private way is freer of scandal than the public, I will then be of their mind." His Majesty further requested that, since he thus condescended to a Committee, they would that very afternoon (21st of October) proceed to chuse the members of it, which was accordingly done, and four from each estate were elected. The noblemen were, Lennox, Loudon, Balmerino, and Lauderdale.

The details we have already derived, from the most unquestionable contemporary sources, will enable us sufficiently to test the accuracy, and depth of research, of those modern writers who, upon the memory of the King and Montrose, still cast the stigma of this baseless Incident. Leaving the violent assumptions of Mr Brodie and Lord Nugent, the chief object of whose writings would seem to be that of calumniating Charles the First, we turn to the Constitutional History of Mr Hallam. "Rumours," says this distinguished writer, "of pretended conspiracies by the Catholics, were perpetually in circulation, and rather *unworthily encouraged* by the chiefs of the Commons. More *substantial* motives for alarm appeared to arise from the obscure transaction in Scotland, commonly called the Incident, which looked so like a concerted design against the two great leaders of the constitutional party, Hamilton and Argyle, that it was not unnatural to anticipate *something similar* in England."* This unsatisfactory passage we cannot think worthy of a History of England such as Mr Hallam's. It seems as if it meant, notwithstanding a phra-

* Hallam's Hist. of England, Vol. i. p. 586.

seology implying doubt and conjecture, to afford the sanction of an historic page of high pretensions to an "obscure transaction," of whose history at the same time is evinced the very crudest conception. What is there, in the details we have traced, that "looked so like" that concerted scheme, the dishonest allegation of which, by a faction against Charles, was carefully withheld from the investigation integrity demanded? Whether we consider, on the subject, the wild tale of the Earl of Lanerick, or the half-crazy calumnies of Baillie, the honest indignation of the King in the Parliament of Scotland, or the democratic agitation of Pym in the Parliament of England, we must reverse the dictum of Mr Hallam, and say that it looked very like the concerted design of the two most disreputable leaders of the covenanting faction, Hamilton and Argyle, to effect, *per fas et nefas*, the selfish objects of their own miserable ambition, which eventually produced anarchy, and made them both "shorter by the head." If there was any such concerted design as our historian points to, unquestionably the King was a party to it, for that is essentially involved in the story. But is the likelihood of it to be discovered in the fact, that after these privy-councillors had given such eclat to the calumny by their flight, after Hamilton, both in person and by letter, had insulted with that odious suspicion the monarch to whom he owed even his life, nay, after London was arming against the King in consequence,—these skulking noblemen, frightened at their own leasing-making, sent the hypocritical message to Parliament, that "they would clear to all the world that they never had of his Majesty the least jealousy or suspicion."? Then Mr Hallam admits, that the faction "unworthily encouraged" false rumours of popish plots. But when he called the obscure Incident a more

substantial ground of alarm, had he read in the correspondence of Secretary Nicholas that that very Incident was immediately proclaimed in London as a popish plot? "Upon letters," writes the Secretary to his Majesty on the 20th of October, "from the English Committees now in Scotland, to the Committee here, relating the news of Marquis Hamilton's, the Earl of Argyle's, and Earl of Lanerick's abandoning the Court and Parliament there, our Committee here was yesterday in a great fright, and, declaring that they conceived the same to be a plot of the Papists there, and of some Lords and others here, sent present orders to the Lord Mayor, &c., to double the guards and watches of this city and suburbs." And there are other important considerations which ought rather to have induced Mr Hallam to clear history altogether from the factious cloud, that has haunted it too long, and the memory of Charles from a baseless calumny. All the informers and alleged conspirators were examined, cross-examined, and re-examined, before the Committee for the Incident, on the 22d, 23d, 25th, and 27th of October. If the story upon which Hamilton and Argyle had now excited the whole island, and the details of which we find in the letters of Lanerick and Baillie, were a true story, all must now have come out. That nothing of the kind would come out, some of the faction knew well when they persisted in their demand for private inquiry, and the very thing happened which is only consistent with the theory that the Incident was itself a covenanting plot. A scene most disgraceful to Scotland, and the Cause, occurred. No two witnesses agreed in their depositions, and the evidence consisted of the most violent and inextricable contradictions of each other upon their great oath. Nothing was brought out or

established beyond this, that *William Murray* had been passing betwixt the prison of Montrose, and the King's bed-chamber, (as we have illustrated in the previous chapter,) with certain letters and conversations which not the utmost efforts of this unscrupulous faction could connect with the *species facti* of the Incident, and that the same worthy had introduced Cochrane in the manner and for the purpose explained by the King himself. There appeared, indeed, to have been occasional conversations, at some private parties in noblemen's houses, (as no doubt there were in many quarters,) relative to the prevalent, though fearfully whispered, impression that Hamilton was a traitor, and that Montrose was anxious to denounce him as such to the King, and able to prove it. These various and contradictory depositions were taken down in writing, read to the King and Parliament on the 28th of October, but carefully withheld from the knowledge of the public at large. They were then sent off to England, from whence they have never been recovered.* How they were dealt with there we learn from the following passage of Sir

* Malcolm Laing supposed that they had been suppressed by the Estates in Scotland, in consequence of the King's concessions; and he leaves the inference, indeed argues the point, that if fully revealed they would have proved the Incident against the King. But the above passage from Secretary Nicholas's letter shows both the fate of the documents, and the groundless nature of Mr Laing's argument. Fortunately Sir James Balfour had noted, though very shortly and with manifest partiality, his remarks upon the depositions read to the Parliament. These notes, with a reply to Mr Laing's argument deduced from them, will be found in our note upon the Incident, at the end of this Volume. It would be of great consequence to the memory of Charles the First, (since such historians as Mr Hallam still persist in pointing the obscure calumny against him,) if the depositions in question could yet be discovered in the State Paper Office. We have seen how the depositions we have recovered, in reference to the Plot of Montrose, tend to destroy that factious calumny.

Edward Nicholas's letter to the King, dated 4th November 1641.

"The Lords of your Majesty's privy-council here have heard read all the examinations concerning Marquis Hamilton's, and the Earls of Argyle and Lanerick absenting themselves; and since they received no directions to communicate those examinations to any other than to your privy-council, they think not fit to publish the same, otherwise than by declaring, (to such as they shall have occasion to speak with about that business,) that they find nothing in all those examinations that in any sort reflects upon your Majesty's honour. The examinations themselves are by their Lordships left in my hands unsealed, that any of the Lords of your Privy-Council may see and read them; but I am to give no copies of the same, and the Lords willed me to signify to Mr Treasurer, that if your Majesty please that there shall be any further publication thereof, they expect further directions therein. I have communicated to the lords, and given them copies of Marquis Hamilton's third letter to your Majesty, which doeth give great satisfaction here to all men, that *nothing in that unhappy business doeth in the least manner reflect on your Majesty's honour.*" *

Charles had been compelled to yield to the determination of the faction in Scotland, which was to keep the examination of this matter as private, while they made the false scandal as public as possible. He was now thus far exonerated, however, and in reply to his Secretary's remark, as to publishing this contemptible evidence,

* This is important also as proving that his Majesty's honour had been implicated in the bruit of the Incident, which could only have been by means of the Hamilton and Argyle faction propagating the scandal for their own purposes.

he notes upon the margin,—" they need to do no more, but as they have, and resolve to do. There needs no more." But the principal aim of his enemies had been attained. The mystery observed in the matter was whispered to be consideration for his Majesty's character, and, in covenanting Scotland, the usual dishonest means were taken to raise a public and popular scandal from a lurking falsehood. A vicious pleading was drawn up by some zealous partisan, the object of which was to prove, that, notwithstanding the witnesses had all destroyed each other's testimony, enough could be gathered, from the *disjecta membra* of the evidence, to render it quite certain that the wild tale of " the arresting, taking, and killing," Hamilton, Argyle, and Lanerick, was perfectly true. And this *ex parte* paper contained not the depositions, but only such allusions to their contents as suited the purpose of the writer. The eighth and last head of this convincing document serves as a key to the good faith and common sense of the whole. While in England the Incident was declared to be a popish plot, under the direction of the popish Earl of Crawford, in Scotland, it seems, the theory was industriously circulated that it was a branch of the former plot, or a last and desperate struggle on the part of the " Plotters in the Castle." For the paper to which we allude is thus wound up : " The deposition leads the business to the direct tract of Lieutenant-Colonel (Walter) Stewart's instructions, from Montrose and the rest, to Traquair, and from him to them, as may be seen in the removing of the Serpent out of the bosom—getting information against the Dromedary—fair promises—R. and L., which is Religion and Liberties, being granted, and so forth." *

* The whole of this paper will be found quoted in our note to the In-

This glimpse of the evidence is edifying. Happily we have been enabled thoroughly to expose the Covenanters' proceedings as to the Plot, and if the Incident be referred to that basis, by the Covenanters themselves, we may say, in the words of Lord Napier's honest and indignant defence against the calumnies of the Plot,— "then is Dagon fallen before the Ark, and that great Colossus of theirs, got out and enlarged with all the railing and lying art, and eloquence possible, and reared up for vulgar adoration, fallen to the ground."

Yet the idea that Montrose was the secret leader and prime conspirator in the Incident, as well as in the Plot, has come down to us, and has been adopted by modern historians of every complexion. We may consider the two extremes of these modern authorities. From Mr Brodie, the champion of democracy, we are not to expect an exposition of the matter favourable for any party but the Covenanters. It required, however, some hardihood even in that writer to put down for history, that when Charles I., as he assumes on Clarendon's authority, had put an end to Montrose's proposal of assassination, by rejecting it with abhorrence, his Majesty "did not on that account cool, far less drop his connection with Montrose, so the result of

cident, at the end of the volume. It is among the manuscripts of Robert Baillie, and appears to have been either his handiwork, or Archibald Johnston's, to whom Baillie himself tell us he used to apply to draw such papers. The one in question had been circulated over Scotland; for there is a copy of it in the Bannatyne Club edition of the History of the Troubles, by the loyal Spalding, who thus comments upon it: "This piece came from Edinburgh to Aberdeen in writ, whilk I copied verbatim, but whether true or not, I cannot say; nor may the same be weill understood, but in so far as it is conceived in the Marquis's favour; made up by some of his friends, as may appear, and that the Committee, doubtless his assured friends also, has had some hand in the trial of this business; but all turned to nocht."

their deliberations was sufficiently atrocious, and indeed partly involved the same conclusion."* Then follows Mr Brodie's version of the Incident, in which of course not one word of this bold assertion is proved, or even rendered plausible. But, on turning to the loyal commentaries of the champion of Charles the First, we are more surprised to find that not only has he cast the odium of the pretended Incident upon Montrose, but his defence of the King is of that slight and conjectural nature most acceptable to his enemies, who thus find the character of Charles uncleared by an able and enthusiastic apologist. Our author, however, arrives at this not very satisfactory conclusion: "The plot, (of the Incident,) whatever it was, may have been the contrivance of the daring Montrose, who *consigned the management* to the Earl of Crawford; but even this point is difficult to conceive, for Montrose, who was then soliciting the royal favour, would hardly have ventured to lose it, by an assassination which had been solemnly interdicted by the King." This reasoning is surely somewhat crude. Montrose is alleged to have been "soliciting the royal favour," ever since the treaty of Berwick in 1639. Yet Mr D'Israeli has no doubt that Montrose sent that proposal of assassination which, he adds, Charles "solemnly interdicted." Did our hero require such a rebuff in order to make him see the risk of losing the favour of Charles I., by the insane proposal of assassination in cold blood? We venture to think that the following considerations, suggested by the history of the Plot and the Incident as now illustrated, will afford a more substantial defence both for the King and Montrose.

* Mr Brodie's Hist. Vol. iii. p. 150.

In the first place, we think that whoever fairly appreciates the dispositions and mental accomplishments both of Charles and Montrose, must be satisfied that they were incapable of such atrocious designs, and that that consideration alone is sufficient to destroy a calumny so extravagant, bloody, and impracticable in its scheme, as the Incident. But, in the next place, all these theories of Charles and Montrose having formed such a scheme at the time, or of Montrose having planned it himself, "leading the management to Crawford," rest upon the assumption of an impossibility. At this time Montrose could no more have laid a plan with another person, to "massacre the Covenanters in an hour of unsuspecting confidence," than if he had been immured in the dungeons of the Inquisition. He could neither, while the prisoner of this faction, see a human being, nor write or utter a syllable, without their knowledge and sufferance. Thus against the truth of the Incident, as a plot of Montrose's with the King, there stands both a moral and physical impossibility. And, accordingly, we find that although the deluded Baillie, in his fanatical and darkling report of the matter, speaks of ways being found for delivering the Castle to Montrose and his friends, and although, in the covenanting papers circulated on the subject, the Incident was made to grow out of the Plot, Montrose's name was very little connected with the matter at the time. He was not alluded to in the debates in Parliament, until his letter to the King came to be discussed, which letter betrayed no connection with such a story as the Incident. In the Earl of Lanerick's minute relation Montrose is not hinted at. In England this terrible plot appears to have been entirely imputed to the Earl of Crawford and papistry, and Montrose

himself appears not to have had any idea that he was accused of this new plot. * That they would if possible have implicated him, is obvious from the excited gossip on the subject transmitted by Baillie to his correspondent abroad; and, indeed, they made something like an attempt to do so. On the 2d of November, by which time the Committee for the Incident had reported the depositions, Montrose petitioned, in the name of common justice, at least to be liberated on caution. Had it been the understood theory that he was the principal of the Earl of Crawford in the Incident, that would have been made the ground, expressly, for now refusing his petition. But all that was said was, that he must first explain certain expressions in a recent letter from him to the King. The letter had been produced by the King himself, and read to the faction, and the nature and terms of it are absolutely exclusive of the theory, that Montrose had any thing to do with such a scheme as the Incident was said to be. Upon Monday the 11th of October, that letter was carried by William Murray to the King. It was found to contain general expressions, indicating Montrose's anxiety to convince his Majesty of the machinations of a faction against his crown and honour. We only see the letter through the medium of that sentence of it, loosely repeated from memory, in the record of Montrose's second examination on the subject. † Montrose declares that, by any expressions he had used in that letter, the precise words of which are not upon his memory, he did not intend the particular accusation of any individual.

* Dr Wishart refers to the persecution, of the Plot, against Montrose, but does not mention the Incident at all, and Bishop Guthrie and Sir Philip Warwick, in noticing the latter affair, do not hint that Montrose was said to be implicated.

† See before, p. 95.

And now that we know his letter on the Supreme Power, and the letter of advice from the Plotters to his Majesty, we can easily understand how much Montrose might have to say on the general question. The place and the occasion, when he would have made his special accusations against individuals, was before a constitutional tribunal, in presence of the Parliament, and in face of day; and the whole machinery of the Plot and the Incident arose out of the fact, that neither Hamilton nor Argyle dared to meet in that manner such an accusation, or such an accuser. But when the Committee examined Montrose as to the meaning of his last letter to the King, not a question was put on the subject of a confederacy with the Earl of Crawford, or in relation to the Incident. Indeed the letter itself excluded an idea of the sort. For it was upon the night of Monday the 11th of October, that, according to the story, the King's withdrawing-room was to have been flooded with the blood of Hamilton, Argyle, and Lanerick. Would a letter in such terms have passed on the very morning, from Montrose to the King, within a few hours of the performance of that tragedy, if Montrose had been in any degree participating, or if, as our historiographer asserts, the Incident was the result of atrocious deliberations between the King and Montrose?

But the characters of Hamilton and Argyle will not stand the test of the same close inspection. They never demanded an open trial as Montrose did. Their policy was ever to evade it, and to crush those who might bring them to answer before a fair, and, to the innocent, a safe tribunal. Then mark the moment when *their* Plot disclosed itself. William Murray had been with Montrose in prison on the morning of the 11th of

October,—a material fact not observed by the various historians to whom we have alluded.* We think it now beyond question, that he could not have got there without the knowledge and connivance of the covenanting faction. We have proved, under their own hand to the King, that at this same time he was the favourite agent of the Kirk. Montrose, however, certainly did not know this, or he would never have intrusted such an emissary with the warning letter to the King, or held conversations on the subject with him. William Murray, then, must have contrived at those interviews to deceive Montrose as to his, Murray's, position with the revolutionary party, in which case there must have been a covenanting plot to "ensnare and entangle" Montrose. If our theory be the true one, what might be expected to happen would be this: Murray having induced Montrose to commit himself even to the extent of a letter to the King, and having implicated his Majesty in the matter as far as possible, would reveal every thing to Hamilton and Argyle, who would take their measures accordingly. Now it is in the afternoon, of the very day when that letter was delivered, that Lanerick is sent for by his brother and Argyle to listen to the bloody tale. It is on the same evening that Hamilton insults his Master in the garden. Not a word, however, is said of the correspondence on that day betwixt the King and Montrose. Hamilton pretends to no knowledge of that letter, but "in a philosophical and parabolical way," talks vaguely of "base plots" against him, and insultingly expresses *scepticism* as to his Majesty's participation. Yet Hamilton knew the facts of the recent cor-

* The date is given in the original record, quoted p. 95. Malcolm Laing had only observed an inaccurate note of that examination in Balfour's MS. where the date of the delivery of that letter is not given.

respondence with Montrose as well as the King did; for it had, indeed, been immediately revealed to him by Murray, as we learn from Clarendon, who tells us,—"I have heard the Earl of Montrose say, that Will Murray was the only man who discovered that whole counsel to the Marquis, after he (Murray) had been a principal encourager of what had been proposed to the King, and an undertaker to prove many notable things himself." And this declaration of Montrose's precisely agrees with our preconceived theory of Montrose having been duped, and Hamilton informed, by this creature Murray, who had pretended both to the King and Montrose, that he was the enemy of the Marquis! Charles himself told Clarendon that Murray informed his Majesty of Hamilton's treachery, and urged an impeachment, to which his Majesty would not consent. It was Murray who induced Cochrane to go to the bed-chamber and burden the mind, and compromise the safety of the King, with certain disclosures to be kept secret. And when the mine was sprung, and had taken effect, in favour of the factions, from one end of the island to the other, it was Murray who instantly "grew to be of a most entire friendship with Hamilton, and at defiance with the Earl of Montrose," and it was for Murray that the Kirk of Scotland at the same time expressed such patronising affection in their letter to the King.

While the character of Charles was left to the deadly effects of this latent and hypocritical calumny, the covenanting faction, with the greatest possible parade, issued their written manifesto, that the peace and prosperity of the country required the presence of the fugitive nobles in Parliament, exonerating them at the same time from all the odium of their flight, and adding prolix and elaborate reasons for the propriety of every

step they had taken. They were recalled, in a triumph most insulting to the King, by a complimentary vote of the House, from which various noblemen dissented in vain. "Sure their late danger," says Baillie, "was the mean to increase their favour with the Parliament; so whatever *ruling they had before*, it was then multiplied." And this reverend partisan proceeds to display himself in not the most reputable light. He declares, (an assertion disproved by every circumstance of the history we have developed,) that Argyle had been exerting himself in favour of Montrose and his friends, and had nearly accommodated matters, in terms of the King's desire, on the very day he was forced to fly! On his return, adds Baillie, he begun where he had left off, but found a difficulty in the way of his, Argyle's, desire to allow these delinquents to be passed from; "the great knot was, the oath *which he had invented* obliged the Parliament, in direct terms, to an accurate trial of all Incendiaries and Plotters." But the Plotters had been in vain demanding "an accurate trial" for the last six months, and now this omnipotent Parliament could not find the means of escaping an obligation invented by Argyle for the purpose, it would seem, of saving himself from the chance of being just or merciful. Alexander Henderson, at the head of the covenanting clergy, and both an abler and more honest fanatic than Baillie, saw how disreputable was this pretended difficulty. So in their church meetings he redargued it by some sound distinctions, and spoke for passing from those trials. "I," writes Baillie in triumph, "I contradicted him at some length; Mr Archibald Johnston was very infirm, and dangerously sick for the time, yet I moved him to draw up that paper as he did many more." Montrose's father-in-law, Southesk, then sug-

gested a question to the dissentient church, which Baillie calls a very captious one, namely, whether, in conscience, the trial of the Incendiaries or Plotters might be dispensed with by the Parliament, if they conceived that passing from those trials would be a mean of the country's peace? The Church (whose prime minister was Argyle) stood out successfully against this act of grace and justice. Yet the Church cunningly determined not to bear the odium. Baillie declares that the jet of Southesk's interrogatory was, that "sundry of the Parliament would have the envy, of refusing the King's demand, to fall on the Church,—but, by an overture cast in by our good friend Mr George Young, we got *the thorn* put in the right foot. We required, before we would give an answer, our interrogator's declaration, whether they, in conscience, thought, that the passing of that trial was a sure mean of peace, without which it could not be heard? Upon this, without further troubling us, the States resolved, as you have it in the printed act, for taking the trial, *for their oath's sake*, but remitting the sentence to the King." But it was not until the faction were thoroughly triumphant, in their scramble for place and power, that they thus virtually confessed they never had a case against Montrose and his friends, or the alleged incendiaries.

The King was now exhausted both in mind and body, and completely at the mercy of those who showed none. Even before the calumny of the Incident, by which he was so excited and harassed, had fallen upon him, his state was very wretched. Hamilton, though still dear to him, he could no longer trust, and the few in Scotland who really loved him, dared not prove their affection, or were in prison for doing so. In a letter to the Earl of Ormonde, dated from Edin-

burgh, 25th September 1641, Sir Patrick Wemyss draws this most affecting picture of the King: "What will be the event of these things God knows; for there was *never King so much insulted over*. It would pity any man's heart to see how he looks; for he is never at quiet among them, and glad he is when he sees any man that he thinks loves him. Yet he is seeming merry at meat." * After the date of this letter the Incident occurred, and, when we read the above, we feel there must have been more of anguish than of passion in those bursts of impatience with which Charles met the lawless and low-minded tactics of those who were goading him to his destruction. In the midst of this excitement there came upon him a shock yet more severe. The Catholics in Ireland, as if to teach the Covenanters the difference betwixt Episcopalians and Papists, and as if to assert their right, too, of covenanting for their faith, got up a Covenant after *their* kind, which, if they did not sign with their own blood, they saturated with the blood of Protestants. The day on which Charles announced this new horror to the Parliament was the 1st of November, that on which they voted the recall of Hamilton and Argyle.

Upon Saturday, the 6th of November 1641, a new scene was enacted in the Parliament House, at which our chronicler, Sir James Balfour, was more than usually important. The Parliament was assembled, and the King on his throne, when a procession en-

* Carte's original papers. In the same letter Sir Patrick Wemyss says: "His Majesty has engaged his royal promise to Montrose not to leave the kingdom till he *come to his trial;* for if he leave him, all the world will not save his life." Was this like plotting assassinations, and massacres?

tered the House in the following order : First came six trumpets, in their liveries. Then the pursuivants in their coats of office. Then the heralds, in their coats, the eldest of whom carried the coronet of an Earl. Next came Sir James Balfour himself, Lord Lyon King-at-arms, bearing in his hand the patent of a newly created Earl. After the Lyon came the Duke of Lennox, in his robes, as great Chamberlain of Scotland, followed by the Earl Marischal, who ushered to the throne the hero of this pageant conducted by two Earls, Eglinton on his right hand, and Dunfermline on his left. The individual that now, " after three several low cringes," ascended the throne, and knelt before his Majesty, to have the usual oath of an Earl administered, by Lanerick as Secretary of State, was a little crooked old weather-beaten soldier, bending under the gorgeous and weighty trappings of his new order. It was Felt Marshal Leslie, his Excellence, inferior to none but the King of Sweden, coming to receive the wages of his latest and most lucrative, if not the most glorious of his mercenary adventures. Charles himself placed the coronet on his head, and the crooked figure rose, Lord Balgony, and Earl of Leven. Then came the covenanting protestations and tears, for the little Earl wept upon the royal hand he kissed, and swore unalterable inalienable loyalty, and that his own hand would ever after be with the King, whatever might be " the Cause."*

Charles now scattered honours and rewards, at the bidding of his enemies, in such a manner, says Claren-

* " The Earl of Leven telling his Majesty, as Marquis Hamilton assured me in his hearing, that he would not only never more serve against him, but that when his Majesty would require his service, he should have it, without ever asking what the cause was."—*Clarendon.*

don, " that he seemed to have made that progress into Scotland only that he might make a perfect deed of gift of that kingdom," and which called forth from the Earl of Carnwath the melancholy jest, " that he would go to Ireland, and join Sir Phelim O'Neale, chief of the rebels there, and then he was sure the King would prefer him." It is obvious that Charles was now in a state bordering on distraction, from the additional blow of the Irish rebellion falling upon him so suddenly. The grand Committee, of *accommodation* as it was termed, seemed wilfully to retard his return, their object being to glut themselves with the prey they were pursuing, e'er the King should be suffered to depart. In the meanwhile Secretary Nicholas was continually writing that his Majesty's absence was the ruin of his affairs; and the state of Charles's own feelings is evinced in his entreaties to the Parliament. On Thursday, 11th of November, " his Majesty said that he saw now business still to draw in length, and his urgent necessity, on the other hand, forced him to entreat them earnestly to accelerate matters to an end, for he protested to God he could stay no longer than Thursday, for his staying went well near to lose him a kingdom ;"* and on the 12th " his Majesty said he was confident they had not forgotten what yesternight he had spoken to them, for his journey behoved to begin on Thursday, and he solemn-

* Meaning Ireland. Even this horrible insurrection was pretended, by the democratical faction, to be secretly instigated by Charles, and this wild calumny, too, has been adopted and elaborately argued by Mr Brodie. But his whole argument is sufficiently tested by this, that its most plausible inference against Charles is derived from the baseless assumption that the King and Queen were caballing with Montrose in the Incident, &c. Vol. iii. p. 173. Yet even Baillie rejected that calumny of the King and Queen's participation in the Irish Rebellion, as being " put out of every equitable mind."

ly protested that he could stay no longer, and albeit he was not obliged but once in three years to a Parliament, yet he would faithfully promise them, if need required, they should have one sooner, yea, whensoever their affairs required it." On the following day the Parliament took in hand the lists of Councillors and Officers of State. From the roll of the Council they struck off the Marquis of Huntly, the Earls of Menteith, Linlithgow, Home, Tullibardine, Galloway, Dumfries, and Carnwath; and substituted the Earls of Sutherland, Lothian, Dalhousie, the Lords Yester, Sinclair, Balmerino, and Burleigh. On the election of Loudon to be Chancellor, the place of High Treasurer had been proposed for Argyle. His Majesty named Lord Amond. But the Dictator would not suffer the appointment, although, writes Baillie, " Argyle has been before always to that man a most special friend; but he said he behoved to prefer the public good to private friendship, and so avowedly opposed that motion; as indeed it was thought Amond in that place might have been as good a head and leader to his old friends the *banders* and malcontents, as any other of our nation." How capable this weak and vacillating nobleman was of heading the banders and leading Montrose, may be seen from the fact of his becoming the puppet of Argyle, after having signed the conservative league he betrayed. He was now raised, by the title of Earl of Calendar, to the same grade in the peerage with him to whom he had acted as second in command. This elevation affords another curious reflection in reference to the machinery of the Covenant. Montrose was still in prison, on charges ridiculously baseless, without a trial, and yet in danger of his life. Amond, who had signed Montrose's bond, and who, it was pretended, had still such an in-

clination, to " head and lead his old friends, the banders," that he must not be Treasurer, was rewarded with an Earldom! " For the Treasury," adds Baillie, " seeing it *could not be got for Argyle*, it was agreed to keep it vacant till the King might be got down; and, in the meantime, after the English fashion, to serve it by a commission of five, two of Hamilton's friends, Glencairn and Lindsay, the Chancellor, and Argyle himself, with the Treasurer-Depute." But Argyle was created a Marquis, and Mr Archibald Johnston, who at this time was disappointed of the office he long coveted and got at last, was in the meantime " made content with knighthood, and a place in the Session, and L.200 pension." To make way for this worthy on the Bench, and for his two secret correspondents Sir Thomas Hope of Kerse, and Mr Adam Hepburn of Humbie, the names of Sir John Hay and Sir William Elphinston were struck off; Sir Thomas was moreover made Justice-General, and John Leslie of Newton, the uncle of Rothes, came in place of Sir Robert Spotiswood, President. Argyle, Angus, Lindsay, and Balmerino, (the last of whom Charles resolutely refused to be compelled to honour,) were made Lords Extraordinary of Session. Mr Alexander Henderson, who had become somewhat of a courtier, obtained the rich gift of the revenue of the chapel royal. But the inferior clerical factionists were, as usual, disappointed, for Argyle and others seized the richest spoils of the bishopricks. * Thus by force and

* It is manifest from Baillie's letters, that he was out of humour at the division of the spoil, and he thus alludes to the trimming disposition of the Advocate: " In the end of the Parliament, the Advocate's *idleness* put the King on an humour of protesting of saving his right. This dangerous novelty, of casting all loose, his Majesty at last was moved to

fraud, and fear, was the deed of gift accomplished, and the kingdom of Scotland transferred to the faction of Argyle.

Charles might well exclaim, 'I have granted you more than ever King granted yet, and what have you done for me?' The principal equivalent for these enormous and fatal concessions was, that the Incendiaries and Plotters, against whom in law and equity not a vestige of a case existed, instead of being deprived of their liberties and lives, under a mockery of the forms of justice, should be released on caution; and although tried in secret, that the punishment to follow their predetermined conviction should be referred to Charles. A Committee for their trial was appointed, and, on the 16th of November, the humble petition of John Earl of Montrose, Archibald Lord Naper, the Lairds of Keir and Blackhall, to the King and Parliament for their liberation, being read, the House ordained them to be liberated on caution, that from henceforth they carry themselves *soberly and discreetly*, and that they do appear before the Committee for their trial, on the 4th of January thereafter. But, in fact, these innocent parties were now condemned, and actually punished, without any trial at all, and in spite of private evidence contradictory of their libels. From the Record it appears that the Parliament took great credit to themselves for remitting these trials to a Com-

give over, most by Morton's persuasion. The Advocate, for this and others his *needless offices*, obtained to his son Sir Thomas, not only a place in the Session, but also, to the *indignation of the nobility*, a patent to be General-Justiciar, at least for one year. *Poor* Mr Elphinston, who had it before, was cast by without any challenge, as a man contemned by all." Baillie, however, not being behind the scenes, had but a darkling notion of the machinery he blindly aided. These elections depended upon the will of Argyle and not of the King.

mittee, whose proceedings were to be limited to the first of March, and they "declare that they will not proceed to a final sentence, nor insist upon the punishment of the saids persons, but that they do, for the reasons foresaid, freely remit them to his Majesty." The reason foresaid is worthy of the most impudent cabal that ever ministered to injustice and anarchy, namely, "that his Majesty may joyfully return a contented prince, from a contented people."* There follows, of the same date, a declaration of the King's, that, "taking in good part the respect and thankfulness of this Parliament, in remitting to me those who are cited as Incendiaries, and others, I will not employ any of these persons in offices or places of Court or State, without consent of Parliament, nor grant them access to my person," &c. On Wednesday, the 17th of November, the ceremony of "riding the Parliament," from the Palace of Holyrood, to the great hall of the Parliament, was solemnly performed. From the hereditary and constitutional right of their places in this pageant, Montrose and Napier were of course excluded. The Parliament sat till eight o'clock that night, and the closing scene was Argyle on his knees before Charles, receiving the patent of his Marquisate, and "randring his Majesty humble and hartly thanks for so great a grace and favour, far by (beyond) his merit and expectation." And thus ended this fatal Parliament. Baillie, when writing in all the elation of heart consequent upon their first successful expedition into England, records a sentiment that has sometimes been appealed to with admiration. He says, "we sought no crowns,—we aimed at no lands and honours,—we de-

* Act dated 16th November 1641. *MS. Record.*

sired but to keep our own in the service of our Prince, as our ancestors had done,—we loved no new masters, —had our throne been void, and our voices sought for the filling of Fergus's chair, we would have died ere any other had sat down on that fatal marble but Charles alone." The lip-service to God, and their King, cost the Covenanters nothing, and they were ever lavish of that. But two years had now elapsed since Baillie wrote this fine sentiment, and his disinterested and patriotic party had received three hundred thousand pounds Sterling, " a pretty sum in our land," for their brotherly assistance—they had virtually deprived the King of his crown in Scotland—they were glutted with honours and emoluments—and the chair of Fergus was filled by " King Campbell."

On the same night, " his Majesty solemnly feasted his haill nobility present, in the great hall of the palace, and after supper solemnly took his leave of them, he taking his journey for England on Thursday, by eight in the morning, 18th November 1641." This recalls to us the affecting expression of Sir Patrick Wemyss,— " yet he was seeming merry at meat,"—and to this occasion we may apply the verse that was composed for another,—

> Old Holy-Rood rung merrily
> That night, with wassell, mirth, and glee:
> King *Charles*, within her princely bower,
> Feasted the chiefs of Scotland's power,
> Summoned to spend the parting hour;
> For he had charged, that his array
> Should southward march by break of day.

To that banquet Montrose and Napier were not bidden; and as the Castle of Merchiston stood at the opposite extreme, of the town of Edinburgh, to the Palace of Holyrood, and as the Plotters would be inclined

to betake themselves as far as possible from the sound of that merriment, we may assume that, always excepting Lieutenant-Colonel Walter Stewart, they supped that evening, with what appetite they might, under the curiously stuccoed ceiling of the little quaintly panelled chamber, where their luckless plot had been laid. *

* The conduct of Charles to Montrose and his friends can only be accounted for by the fact, that he was not a free agent, and that, as Sir Patrick Wemyss intimates, only by such concessions could he save their lives. The act of their liberation is entitled, " Act anent the liberation of these men, in the Castle, viz. Erle of Montrose, Lord Naper, Lairds Keir, Blackhall, Sir Walter Stewart, Sir Robert Spotiswood, and Sir John Hay." The new Clerk-Register had knighted Walter Stewart by mistake, in his title of the act. The condition of liberation is,— " they and every one of them finding sufficient caution to behave themselves in such a quiet manner as may conduce most for the weal and peace of the kingdom, and according to the acts of Parliaments, wherein if they fail, the *favour* granted to them by the King and Parliament, to be null," &c. On the 17th November the Earls of Mar, Wigton, Kinghorn, Seaforth, and Southesk, appear as cautioners for Montrose, Napier, and Keir; Sir Ludovick Houston of that ilk for Blackhall, and Gabriel Cunningham for Walter Stewart. The Earl of Crawford, and the rest confined on the subject of the Incident, were released without being required to find caution, another evidence, if more were wanting, of the utter baselessness of that charge. But this was done, " on the humble supplication of the Marquises of Hamilton and Argyle, to the King and Parliament!"

## CHAPTER VII.

HOW MONTROSE DID HIS BEST TO PREVENT A CONTENTED PEOPLE FROM FOLLOWING THE PATH OF REBELLION.

WITH the last chapter we have concluded an historical investigation of all the circumstances tending to cast light upon the political character and position of Montrose, from the time when he was induced to join the Covenanters, to that of his liberation after the King's visit to Scotland in 1641. Dr Wishart, not anticipating that subsequent writers were to surpass even Montrose's contemporary enemies in calumnies against him, had left his whole conduct, throughout the field of troubles we have surveyed, defenceless, and almost without notice. It is, consequently, from that cloudy portion of his career that the writers inimical to his fame have latterly endeavoured to extract the most serious charges against him, and we pause for a moment to consider how far, upon an impartial estimate of the passages developed, he may be said to stand acquitted.

That Montrose had joined the Covenanters in a hasty moment of displeasure towards the Court, and from the impulse of a mere ebullition of selfish temper, appears to have been groundlessly assumed. The more closely that first crisis of his political life is examined, the more reason is discovered for the belief that he was actuated partly by reflections of his own, which he never needed to disclaim, and partly by the persuasions

of deeper and less honest factionists than himself. From such alloy of delusive and contradictory views, and selfish feelings and interests, as will be found to mingle with the actions of all public men, especially in the times that produced the Covenant, we neither feel warranted, nor much interested, to declare that Montrose was absolutely free. But this may be safely said, that while more has been alleged against him of that kind, less can be proved, than against any public character of his times. From the charge of having selfishly, meanly, and treacherously quitted the cause he had thus joined, we venture to think Montrose stands fully acquitted, even by the illustrations we have been enabled to produce. His own exposition, and Lord Napier's, of the feelings and principles by which they and a few others were actuated in their opposition to the dominant Covenanters, is more than sufficient to dispel for ever those vague and virulent rumours, which composed the tactics of their persecuting adversaries, and which have been in modern times by some dogmatically offered, and by others too hastily admitted, as history. We have not been able to detect any very manifest indiscretion, in Montrose's management of the schemes by which he conscientiously endeavoured to save the monarchy, when he discovered its peril. But whatever may have been rash or desperate in the attempt, is too sufficiently accounted for, by the posture of affairs, to render even that criticism of much force. The lavish application of the term *treason* to Montrose's opposition, merely illustrates the factious and false position of his adversaries; nor do we see how, under all the circumstances, his remaining for a time with the loyally professing Covenanters, even after he had determined to thwart their practical democracy, can be

justly characterised as *treachery*. But supposing that his latent opposition derogates in some degree from his naturally open and heroic character, the hypocritical deceit, the unscrupulous faithlessness, the lawless and merciless tyranny of those with whom he had to deal, utterly destroys any argument of the kind used by the apologists of the Covenant. That the Plot and the Incident, hitherto almost universally admitted to have afforded the Covenanters at least plausible grounds for their pursuit of Montrose, were in reality plots got up by that faction to destroy all conservative attempts, and in a manner that set at nought truth, justice, and mercy, honour and common honesty, seems to be proved beyond the shadow of doubt. And as for the charge that Montrose either counselled or imagined assassinations, or murderous conspiracies, we may say in the words of Lord Napier's honest and indignant defence against a less atrocious charge, that "it is as false as God is true." What precise information, or counsels, Montrose had given the King, is a matter that admits of more doubt. If it were proved that he really obtained an opportunity of making such explicit disclosures to Charles as induced that monarch to project the arrest of Hamilton and Argyle, preparatory to impeachment, when the factious storm of the Incident saved them, and that the same disclosures impelled the King upon his fatal attempt to seize the refractory members within the Parliament of England, however unfortunate the results, we can have no doubt, on tracing the secret history of the factions, that Montrose was well founded in his accusations, and justified in making those disclosures. But there seems to be no evidence whatever for a theory that has nevertheless passed current with most modern historians. We believe that Charles had

formed no intention of arresting Hamilton and Argyle in 1641. Clarendon tells us, (in the passage that had been suppressed until of late years,) that the King himself told him, that *William Murray* pressed such a proposition upon his Majesty, who rejected it, and left the impeachment of the noblemen accused, to those who had the means, and would incur the risk. That Montrose, had he been free, might have constitutionally impeached Hamilton and Argyle, before the Scotch Parliament of 1641, is not improbable. But that he had made any explicit proposal even of that kind, or any particular disclosures on the subject to Charles, is not only a theory without proof, but absolutely disproved by the terms of the *last letter* he then wrote to the King, and in which the faction could only discover a vague and general offer, contradictory of the idea of any previous disclosures or meetings between the King and Montrose.* Up to this period, then, of his career, we

* It is a favourite theory of Malcolm Laing's, plausibly argued, but rather with elaborate ingenuity than accuracy of research, that the Incident in Scotland, and the rash attempt of the King's to seize Lord Kimbolton, Pym, and the other four members of the Commons, even within the walls of the House, were one and the same plan, suggested by the counsels and positive disclosures of Montrose. But we can arrive at no other conclusion, than that Mr Laing's theory is chimerical. When Charles returned from Scotland, he was nearly distracted by the undisguised treason that beset him in every direction, and by the bitter consciousness that the Parliament of Scotland had just succeeded in trampling upon his crown. In one of those hasty and transient fits of determination, that always left the deserted and betrayed monarch weaker than ever, he went in person to demand that the refractory members, whom he had charged with high treason, should be instantly given up. There is provocation enough to account for this rash act in the King, without imputing it to the disclosures of Montrose. Malcolm Laing says, (Vol. i. p. 213, edit. 1800.) "When the information is *once traced to Montrose*, the intended arrest and the escape of Hamilton and Argyle from Parliament, the alarm and subsequent violence of the English Commons, the impeachment and attempt to secure the persons of their lead-

may venture to assume, that Montrose's character stands as clear as the imperfection of human nature admits of, in the trying circumstances his times produced, and that, even in the most unfavourable view of his false position, he was infinitely more sinned against than sinning.

During the months of January and February 1642, Montrose, Napier, and the rest of the Plotters were repeatedly called before the Committee for their trial, and the case against them was closed, as the act required, before the first of March. These proceedings were kept a profound secret, nor do they appear in any record. But the case consisted of the private depositions we have already brought to light, and which are so completely met by the separate defences of Traquair and Napier. In terms of the dearly purchased

ers, are *intimately connected*, and exhibit a series of transactions derived *apparently* from the same source." However high the pretension of his history, we cannot help thinking that this and the whole of our historian's disquisition on the subject is a fanciful and baseless theory. Montrose had never got further in his propositions and disclosures to Charles, than that letter, of which William Murray was the bearer a few hours before the alleged perpetration of the Incident was to have occurred. The glimpse of the terms of that letter, produced from the Record, (see p. 95,) of itself destroys Mr Laing's theory; for it only speaks vaguely of advice to be given, or disclosures to be made, and yet it is the *latest* correspondence Montrose had with the King at the time. The theory is much more tenable that Charles was goaded by the insidious and treacherous informations of William Murray, who probably took every liberty with Montrose's conversation, upon these occasions. Malcolm Laing has enlisted not only Mr D'Israeli, but the illustrious name of Sir Walter Scott in favour of his theory. The latter says,—"Montrose contrived, however, to communicate with the King from his prison in the Castle of Edinburgh, and disclosed so many circumstances respecting the purposes of the Marquis of Hamilton, and the Earl of Argyle, that Charles had resolved to arrest them both at one moment, and had assembled soldiers for that purpose."—*Tales of a Grandfather*. But Charles himself told Clarendon he had no intention of the sort; and there seems no reason for doubting either Clarendon or Charles in the matter.

act the case was referred to the King, no more was heard of the Plot, or Incident, and throughout the country it was generally understood, by all who retained their senses, that nothing whatever had been substantiated against Montrose and his friends. The whole affair was a characteristic specimen of a covenanting process, a covenanting trial, and a covenanting acquittal.

After these harassing events, Montrose spent some months of the year 1642 in domestic retirement with his family and friends. It would have been most interesting to have followed him there, but unfortunately even Dr Wishart, the author most likely to have satisfied our curiosity in that respect, has failed to do so. He merely remarks, that when Montrose was set at liberty "he went to his own house, and remained there some time." Elsewhere, however, he tells us that "Montrose was a man of an excellent genius, and when he had any spare time from public business, used to divert himself with poetical compositions, in which he succeeded very happily." It is a singular and unquestionable fact, and one totally at variance with the calumnious theory of Montrose's savage dispositions, that upon the two occasions on which his feelings were most dreadfully excited, namely, when he first heard of the murder of Charles, and when the barbarous details of his own sentence were announced to him, he almost immediately gave vent to those feelings in verse; and among the other fugitive pieces that have come down to us as his, we think there may be traced not only the disdain and disgust he had now been taught for *Committee* government and justice, but a strain of deeper and more melancholy feeling at the prospect, to King and country, too surely disclosed by the abandoned faithlessness of the times. It will be remembered that in the letter urging Charles to come to Scotland, the

King is solemnly warned to distrust those about him,—"they are flatterers, and therefore cannot be friends, they *follow your fortune*, and love not your person;" and the lines we now quote, from a poem of Montrose's "on false friends," and which we elsewhere give entire, will be found to contain the very idea explained and enlarged.

Then break afflicted heart, and live not in these days,
When all prove merchants of their faith, none trusts what other says;
For when the Sun doth shine, then shadows do appear,
But when the Sun doth hide his face, they with the Sun reteir;
Some friends as shadows are, and *fortune as the Sun*,
They never proffer any help till fortune hath begun;
But if in any case, fortune shall first decay,
Then they, as shadows of the Sun, with fortune, pass away.

It is remarkable that no notices are to be met with of Montrose's Countess,* the daughter of Southesk, whom he had married in his boyhood, and the inference would seem to be that she had died before the young Earl went abroad in the year 1633. The fact, that Montrose's family consisted only of two sons, the youngest of whom was born about the year 1631, tends to confirm the supposition. But his domestic circle may be said to have embraced the families of Merchiston, and the Keir, with whom he was in constant social intercourse. This interesting fact, too, is derived from the Merchiston papers, that at the very time when Montrose and the rest were so strictly confined, with every prospect of sharing the fate of John Stewart, and when the Lord Erskine and the Master of

* I find no mention made of the Countess by Wishart, Guthrie, Spalding, nor in the notes of Sir James Balfour which furnish a copious obituary of the nobility of the period. During the confinement of the Plotters in the Castle, the lady of Sir George Stirling obtains a warrant from Parliament to visit her husband; but no mention is made of the Countess of Montrose. Lady Napier was dead.

Napier were daily presenting petitions in their behalf to the Parliament, the marriage settlements of the latter, a youth of sixteen, with the Lady Elizabeth Erskine, also a minor, were in preparation. Their marriage contract was signed by the Master, at Edinburgh, 28th May 1641, (the day after Montrose's declaration to the Committee, which commenced the agitation of the Plot,) and by the Lady Elizabeth at Stirling, on the 13th of June, two days after the Plotters were sent to the Castle; and Lord Napier signs the charters of the young lady's tocher, on the 20th of July, in his prison, the witnesses being his own servant, and his jailor Colonel James Lindsay. The happy event was probably a source of enjoyment to our family party of Plotters when they obtained their release; but little did they think that the young lady now added to their domestic circle was, at no very distant period, to purloin, at the risk of her life, the heart of the hero from his mangled body beneath the gibbet, and embalm it as a sacred relic for her descendants.

During the whole of the year 1642, Montrose, Napier, and Sir George Stirling, who never swerved from the conservative position they had taken, as Covenanters, when their conscientious opposition was so lawlessly crushed, remained for the most part mute spectators of the events that were ushering the great Rebellion. But we shall immediately produce some interesting proofs that they were not inattentive to the progress of the movement, now with rapid strides fulfilling their worst anticipations. The inclination of the dominant factionists, including Hamilton, not to suffer the insurrection of Scotland to be brought to a close at this period, arose out of no better principle than a con-

sciousness of their own perilous position, if the waters now subsided, which they had so industriously troubled by means that would not bear the light. But this principle was powerful to create the predetermination still to make common cause with those who were assailing the throne in England, and to discountenance and crush in others every indication of sincere and grateful loyalty. At the close of the triumphant Parliament of 1641, "there was a Committee," says Baillie, "of our Estates appointed to attend the Parliament of England, not so much for the perfecting of our treaty, as to keep *good correspondence* in so needful a time. None of the former commissioners were employed, but Sir Archibald Johnston, and Sir John Smith; for the most of all the rest were *fallen in the country's dislike*, complying too much with the King. Certainly Dunfermline, Waughton, Sheriff of Teviotdale, Riccarton, Clerk of Dundee, tint (lost) all credit with the States.* Our new commissioners obtained warrant of the Parliament to chuse for their service what ministers they thought meet. They agreed on Mr Harry Pollock, and Mr (Eleazer) Borthwick."† Thus were the revolutionists in England secure of co-operation from the "contented people," even at the very time when Charles returned to London, where he experienced those renewed attacks upon his rights, and those disgraceful insults to his own person and the Queen's, that drove him from Whitehall. Vainly he had endeavoured to stem the torrent by an impeach-

* Simply because Dunfermline, and the others named above, had not gone the whole way with the demagogue Archibald Johnston, as he indicates in the secret correspondence in reference to the former commission. The movement had now received a material impulse.

† Two of the most notoriously factious of the Scotch clergy. Lindsay, Lothian, Balmerino, and Sir Thomas Hope of Kerse, were put upon this new commission.

ment, the result of which, in that thoughtless attempt to seize the refractory delinquents within the Parliament, at once afforded, to a ruthless and dishonest faction, an excuse for their now rampant democracy. That hasty step of the distracted monarch's, was to the great Rebellion what the ill considered scheme, of imposing the service-book in Scotland, was to the troubles there, namely, a welcome excuse for a conflagration, the combustibles of which had long been prepared by those who were afraid to fire the pile. That Montrose had anything to do with counselling the King in this matter we have disproved. But it is not so certain that William Murray had done nothing towards infusing this rashness into his measures. We now know that it was Murray who urged the impeachment of Hamilton and Argyle, and then held secret council with them; and we are informed by Clarendon, that upon the present occasion, "it was generally believed that the King's purpose of going to the House was communicated to William Murray of the bed-chamber, and that it was betrayed by him." In that same month of January 1642, the King quitted London, and her Majesty went over to Holland. In the beginning of April, Sir John Hotham closed the gates of Hull against his Sovereign.* General Leslie, whom we must now call Leven, was, moreover, once more placed at the head of a Scottish army, whose insidious organization was the first fruits of

* Clarendon, in a suppressed passage, declares, that "it was then believed, and *Hotham himself* made it to be believed, that Mr Murray of the bed-chamber, who was the messenger sent by the King in the morning to give Sir John Hotham notice, that his Majesty intended to dine with him, had infused some apprehensions into the man, as if the King meant to use violence towards him, which produced that distemper and resolution in him; but it was never proved, and that person who *was very mysterious in all his actions,* continued long after in his Majesty's confidence."—Vol. ii. p. 608.

the new cabal with the Parliament of England, and had for its immediate and avowed object, (in covenanting history never the real object) the subjugation of Ireland. Many, says Clarendon, believed that the Scotch nation were now so abundantly satisfied, that they would carry their projects no further against England, but make their fortunes in Ireland, where, "according to their rules of good husbandry, they might expect whatsoever they got from the rebels to keep for themselves." In this army, however, Argyle, Lindsay, Lothian, and all the "rigid Lords," held commands; and Dr Wishart, who could not well be mistaken, asserts that the Covenanters "endeavoured all they could to draw Montrose over to their side, as he was the only person of whom they were afraid; they offered to make him Lieutenant-General of their army, and to do for him whatever else he should demand that was in their power; but he rejected all their offers." That such, about this time, was the policy of those who had so lately treated him with tyrannical indignity, we shall find to be otherwise abundantly proved. Montrose saw their drift, and too surely prophesied that these warlike preparations were at no distant period to be brought to bear against the Monarchy of England.

It was now manifest enough that the determination of the ruling faction in Scotland was to join the Parliament against the King, and it was not an easy matter for those who had the best interests of the country, no less than of the King, sincerely at heart, to bring their honest and anti-factious principles effectually into play, or under fair consideration. If they met together in private, they were denounced as Plotters. If they dared to make their appearance in public, with

such following as their rank entitled them to, and as the state of the times, and the example of Argyle and other agitating chiefs, fully justified, they were exclaimed against as a hostile array, about to deluge the country with the blood of its inhabitants, and, moreover, in reference to Montrose's bond, were virulently distinguished as "the Banders," while the revolutionary clique arrogated to themselves the lofty title of "Conservators of the Peace" between England and Scotland. How far these titles were respectively due, we proceed to illustrate.

In the Napier charter-chest is the following corrected draft of a petition, all in the handwriting of Lord Napier, and probably his composition, or concocted in conclave with Montrose and Keir.

"*To the Right Honourable the Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council, the Supplication of the Lords and Gentlemen undersigning,—With all due respect,—*

"Sheweth,—That whereas it is more than manifest that his Majesty's honour and lawful authority, upon which the preservation of our Religion, Laws, and just Liberties, the happiness and peace of this Isle, next under God, dependeth,—which can never long continue if the Sovereign power which unites us together be weakened or disabled, and which by the law of God, our national allegiance, and solemn oath at his Majesty's coronation, and by our National Covenant, we are bound to maintain,—hath not only of late suffered detriment and diminution, but, from his Majesty's letters, answers, declarations, and other papers coming to our hands, we conceive just cause of suspicion that the diminishing of his Majesty's royal power is further in-

tended,* in a higher measure than can stand with the duty or security of good subjects to suffer: We, therefore, undersubscribers, out of our thankfulness to his Majesty for his many and great favours bestowed of late upon this nation, and out of sense of duty to God, our Country, and our King—which can never without impiety be disjoined—do in our own names, and their's who will adhere to us in this supplication, and are not present, humbly desire that your Honours will be pleased to take the present state of affairs into your serious considerations, and that you will take some such solid and vigorous resolution for re-establishing and maintaining his Majesty's authority and royal power,—upon which dependeth the peace and prosperity of all his Majesty's dominions, and which Almighty God it seems hath put in your hands,—as in your wisdom you shall think fittest. And we, in all humility and loyalty, shall not be wanting to assist and second your endeavours to that end, with our lives and fortunes, to the effusion of the last drop of our blood. And your Honours' answer is expected by your "——— †

This manuscript is neither dated nor signed. On comparing it, however, with contemporary history, the occasion of its composition is not to be doubted. Clarendon informs us, that his Majesty, during the progress of events from his return out of Scotland to the period when rebellion stared him in the face at the gates of Hull, had "from time to time given his Council of Scotland full relations of all his differences with the Parliament, and had carefully sent them the declara-

* *i. e.* By the Parliament of England.

† Original MS. In the handwriting of Lord Napier.

tions and public passages of both sides; and they had always returned very ample expressions of their affections and duty, and expressed a great sense of the Parliament's proceedings towards him." * These informations from the King are clearly alluded to in the petition we have quoted, and the precise time when it was presented may also be distinctly traced. The Chancellor, Loudon, had been sent to the King at York, with further instructions to proceed to the Parliament, and mediate, as they called it, betwixt these contending powers. The interference was of a nature still more to disgust and alarm the King. Instead of permitting Loudon to go to the Parliament, he commanded him to return to Scotland, and call a full meeting of the Council, in order to press upon their good faith and loyalty an impartial consideration of the wrongs his Majesty had recently met with, as displayed in the documents he had sent them, and to obtain from the Council a declaration of their intention to support that authority, which indeed they were bound to support by their oaths and protestations. Loudon appears at the time to have been persuaded of the justice and propriety of these instructions, and actually wrote, in the name of the Privy-Council of Scotland, to the Scotch Commissioners in London, enjoining them to lay before both Houses their deep sense of the King's injuries, and to entreat them to heal the wounds they had made. But that evil spirit, Archibald Johnston, was now more than ever the life and soul of the Commission at London. True, as formerly, to the designs of those who placed him there, his policy was to conceal the instructions he had received from the Chancellor, and to come

* Hist. Vol. iii. p. 310.

in person to Scotland, charged with a declaration from the Parliament, amounting to a justification of every step of their rebellious proceedings, to be laid before the great council which his Majesty had ordered to be held at Edinburgh on the 25th May 1642. Early in that month Montrose, and his nephew Keir, accompanied by the Lord Ogilvy, rode to York, apparently to hold some communication with the King. Spalding records that his Majesty, referring to the act by which they were excluded from his presence, expressly prohibited their approach to him nearer than one post; but, adds Spalding, "it was thought that they had conference with some of the King's servants, wherewith they were content, and so returned home again." Probably this expedition had no other object than to assure his Majesty of the loyalty of many noblemen in Scotland, and their determination to support his throne. When the council met on the 25th of May, "there convened," says Spalding, "in the Canongate, about four-and-twenty Earls, Lords, and Barons, called Banders, and their followers, who were contrary to the Covenant, still showing them to be King's men; they attended to hear the contents of the King's letter sent to the council; and withal they themselves send, as was said, a petition to the said Lords of Council, under the subscription of the Earl of Montgomery, first a strong Covenanter, and now left the same, desiring them to remember their national oath, and oath of allegiance to his Majesty contained in the Covenant, and as good and loyal subjects to defend the King's royal prerogative, now impaired, and encroached upon by the English Parliament; the council give no answer to this petition."

Here, it will be observed, we have the substance of that petition, the draft of which is in Lord Napier's

handwriting. Baillie alludes to it as "my Lord Montgomery's petition," and declares that it was "so evil taken," that although the council had for the most part nearly determined to frame a threatening remonstrance against the Parliament, they gave up the idea, listened to the arguments of the "Conservators of the Peace," and were especially moved in favour of Parliament by a paper of Sir Archibald Johnston's, which he had put in the form of a letter to a friend.* It is worthy of remark, that another *Incident* was got up at this time, in order to overwhelm, by the usual covenanting means, the loyal and rational petition. "The Banders" had mustered in considerable numbers, being well attended, but without the slightest indication of hostility. The Chancellor and Argyle, according to Baillie, were more slenderly backed, and therefore, adds this reverend partisan, "there was a *great rumour raised of a wicked design against Argyle's person;* but incontinent the gentry and ministry of Fife running over in thousands, and the Lothians, with the town of Edinburgh, cleaving to Argyle above expectation, the Banders' courage and companies of foot and horse melted away as snow in a hot sunshine." Notwithstanding this excited account of the matter it is obvious, from all the contemporary chronicles, that not an idea of violence or hostile collision, at this meeting of council, had entered the minds of one of these loyal petitioners. Had such been their object, it is not likely that Montrose would have held back from the warlike array, as he appears to have

* Such, too, we have seen, was the form in which Montrose had put his sentiments upon the state of the monarchy. It is possible that the date of Montrose's letter (Vol. i. p. 397) was the period we are now considering, although the reasons for the date we have assigned appear the most plausible.

done for the very purpose of preventing a clamour, or rendering the conservative meeting obnoxious. Neither is Lord Napier's name mentioned as having been present upon this occasion, although there is every probability that he had both advised and drawn the petition, of which the draft remained in his charter-chest. Argyle, not contented with the agitation he had successfully raised against it, took measures in the General Assembly, (which met in the month of July thereafter, the Earl of Dunfermline being Commissioner,) to prevent all such attempts in future. "Montgomery's petition," writes Baillie, "came in hands; sharp enough flyting there was about it betwixt his Grace and Argyle; always for time to come we made an act against *such presumption*."

The first conspicuous position in which we discover Montrose, after his release from the Castle, is that of his meeting with the Queen in the month of February 1643, the scene at which Dr Wishart's details of his hero's career may be said to commence. This sudden move of Montrose's attracted immediate notice, and the terms of its announcement by Baillie to his foreign correspondent, (in a letter of the 18th of February,) prove that in the previous proceedings to which we have referred, Montrose had taken no prominent part. "Our heart-burnings," says Baillie, "increase, and with them our dangers; so much the more as Montrose, Ogilvy, and Aboyn, who this long while have been very quiet, are on a sudden to the King, for what we cannot tell."* According

* At the end of this letter Baillie adds: "By no means give over your task, but be gathering from all hands materials; what I know I shall ever give you an account of soon or syne." Here the object of these letters appears, and the result was, *Historia Motuum*, the chronicle so fondly quoted by the apologists of the Covenant.

to Wishart, the reason of Montrose's journey was that he perceived the coming storm, and that taking only Ogilvy along with him as his companion and confidant, he went to furnish the King with that true and faithful account of the state of affairs in Scotland, the absence of which had been the bane of his government, from the commencement of his reign.* And in the interval of eight months, which had elapsed since the conservative petition was treated with such factious contumely, circumstances had occurred in Scotland sufficient to have removed every doubt from Montrose's mind, if any remained, that Hamilton was still betraying the King, under pretence of serving him. These we must shortly trace e'er we follow Montrose into the presence of her Majesty.

The mysterious Marquis was now regarded with distrust and suspicion by every right thinking man in the kingdom. Upon no theory of honesty could his conduct from first to last be explained. Yet Charles, though his countenance to the favourite was altered, and his confidence in him greatly impaired, still regarded the faithless companion of his life with a tenacity of affection fatally characteristic, and his heart yearned to trust him again. When the intelligence reached York that the Council in Scotland, and the Conservators of Peace, had rejected with disdain and menaces a most respectful and constitutional petition, simply because it was loyal, the real intentions of those who ruled Scotland could no longer be doubted by the King and his friends. Hamilton felt himself at this time in a very uncomfort-

* Spalding says, that Montrose and Ogilvy were commissioners from "the Banders," and others who felt themselves grievously oppressed at this time by the exactions and taxations of their new masters, Hamilton, Argyle, Loudon, Lindsay, Balmerino, and others.

able position, for so suspiciously was he now regarded by all who rallied round Charles, that the whole gentry of Yorkshire had it in contemplation to petition his Majesty to remove the Marquis from his Councils and Court, as one too much trusted by those who would not trust the King. Under these circumstances, the wily favourite made an offer to go into Scotland, adding, says Clarendon, "many assurances and undertakings, that he would at least keep that people from doing anything that might seem to countenance the carriage of the Parliament." This offer was accepted, and the letter of Charles to Hamilton upon the occasion, so different from the former outpourings of his deep affection for this ungrateful nobleman, conveys no slight reproach.

"HAMILTON.—I have no time to write particulars. And to persuade you to serve me, I suppose that I have less need than time. Therefore, in a word, this is a time *to shew what you are*, assuring you that at all times I will shew that I am, your most assured and constant friend, CHARLES R."

Hamilton arrived in Scotland in the month of July, towards the close of which the General Assembly, in other words, Argyle's conclave of agitation and revolution, sat down at St Andrews. It is illustrative of the history and progress of the movement, that the royal Commissioner, Dunfermline, so lately a leader of the faction, was now sincerely exerting himself for the honour of Scotland, and the safety of the King, while "the Serpent in the bosom" was domesticated with Argyle. "The Marquis of Hamilton and Argyle's intimate familiarity," says Baillie in his account of this Assembly, "kept down the *malcontents* from any stirring." By the following sentence

in the same letter, it appears that Hamilton's first act upon arriving in Scotland, was one of disobedience, and desertion of the King in favour of Argyle: "The King had written to the Marquis of Hamilton, Argyle, and the Chancellor, Morton, and Southesk, to attend and assist the Commissioner. Argyle read his letter, but professed his presence there alone in quality of a ruling elder from the Presbytery of Inverary. Southesk sat at his (the Commissioner's) footstool, and oft whispered his unsavoury advice. None of the rest appeared." This Assembly, or the ruling party in it, manifested, as might be expected, their deference and affection towards the Parliament of England, and a corresponding enmity to the King.

The insurrection of Scotland possessed one, and but one feature of respectability. The clamour that national establishments ought not to be infringed, or interfered with at the arbitrary will o' a Monarch, had, it is true, not much sense in its violent application to the Episcopal measures of Charles. But it was certainly plausible, and there was sufficient rashness in the councils of the King to render the opposition patriotic, provided it was honest. But now the unremitting attacks of the presbyterial power upon the Episcopal establishment of England, and the shameless effrontery of their combination with an unprincipled faction in England, to plant the Covenant there, utterly effaced the only feature of respectability to which that document could ever pretend, and displayed it in all the naked deformity of its dishonest origin. Argyle was the controller of this omnipotent lever against the Monarchy of England. The inexorable demand for uniformity, upon the presbyterian model, of church government throughout the kingdoms, which, while it so

grievously vexed and insulted, completely exonerated Charles, was carried to England by Lord Maitland, the selection of whom was a motion and contrivance of Argyle's to insure to the factious movement its full effect.* The Earl of Dunfermline exerted himself, even to tears, (a fashion, it seems of the oratory of those days,) that he might turn the tide in favour of his Royal Master; but he wept in vain. From the originals of two unprinted documents, (preserved in the venerable charter-room of princely Fyvie Castle, still rejoicing in the Seton crescent, carved upon its oaken panels,) we may illustrate this crisis.

"CHARLES R.

"Right trusty and right well beloved cousin and councillor,—We greet you well. By the order of our two Houses of Parliament, whereof we have herewith sent a copy, we perceive that it is insinuated as if we were not disposed to peace, but inclined to make war in this our kingdom. We have therefore thought good by these to require you to make known, as well to the Assembly now at St Andrews, as to all our good subjects in that our kingdom, the gracious answer we gave to that petition, and to let them understand how far our life and practice hath been from using any ways tending to the effusion of blood,—that there is no party of Papists about us, which is a suggestion

* "Upon Argyle's contriving and motion, Maitland unanimously was sent as our commissioner to King and Parliament, wherein he proved both wise, industrious, and happy." *Baillie.* This was the Lauderdale who was the bitter enemy of Montrose, and became the first and last Duke of Lauderdale. His Duchess was the no less celebrated Countess of Dysart, a title that lady assumed in her own right, in consequence of her father having obtained the patent of the Earldom from Charles I.; but it never passed the seals. Her father was "little Will Murray of the Bed-chamber."

feigned merely to render us disgustful to our subjects, —and we doubt not but our real actions will have more credit with our subjects there than the bare words and assertions of any disaffected to our person and government. You shall hereby likewise receive a copy of the reply of our two Houses to the answer we sent to their petition, whereby they absolutely refuse all our gracious and just propositions for a means to reconcile all differences, and to settle peace and quietness in this our kingdom. As for the matter of Religion, and Government of the Church, we are resolved to maintain it as by the law it is here established, until it shall be legally reformed and altered; and to this we are bound by oath, and in conscience. Thus much we would have you to communicate to the Assembly there in our name, and to assure them that if we had any other affections than a desire to settle peace here, both in the Church and Kingdom, we should not so easily have passed by the many affronts done to our person, and the slaughter and daily injuries done by Sir John Hotham, and his adherents, upon our good subjects. Of your performance hereof we shall expect a particular account from you in convenient time. Given at our Court at Beverley, the 29th day of July 1642." *

"MOST SACRED SOVEREIGN.—Whether matters please or not, I must, according to your Majesty's trust, make a true and timous relation, knowing that your Majesty will put no more, of all that is done, upon my attempts, but that which I assent unto in your Majesty's name. The Assembly hath made choice of the Lord Maitland to be the bearer of their answer of the declara-

* Original. Addressed,—"To our right trusty and right well beloved cousin and Councillor, Charles, Earl of Dunfermline."

tion sent from the Parliament, and of their supplication to your Majesty, which I could not hinder. He is directed first to come to your Majesty with them, and (then) go to the Parliament, of which I conceive it to be necessary to give your Majesty timous advertisement, that before his coming your Majesty may, in your royal wisdom, consider whether it be more for your Majesty's service that he be stayed, or permitted to go forward, both which (in my weak judgment,) have their own inconveniences; for his stay may be evil construed here, and his going may prove prejudicial to your Majesty's service there; for certainly if he had no other business, they would send another bearer; and I know they have sent it to their commissioners already. Whatsoever be the impressions your Majesty receives of my carriage, I wish at God I may no longer live than I continue your most sacred Majesty's obedient subject,

*St Andrew's, 5th August* 1642. DUNFERMLINE."

On the 25th of August the royal standard was hoisted at Nottingham. In the meanwhile Hamilton was colleaguing, in the most confidential and secret manner, with Argyle in Scotland, doing nothing, and worse than nothing, for the King, but at the same time, by his plausible letters, persuading his Majesty that he, Hamilton, was acting honestly and zealously, and earning a right to return to the bosom of his infatuated master. In the month of September, Charles sent his bedchamber man, William Murray, to assist his cause in Scotland. The agent of the kirk, whose own "loving friend and agent" was the Reverend Robert Baillie, had something else to do there. Yet he was a mystery to Baillie, though Hamilton and Argyle understood him

well enough. "I was ever fearing," he says, "what William Murray, who was *in the depth of all the King's secrets*, his long stay in the Abbey, and his frequent meeting with Hamilton, might produce." He need not have been alarmed. The result of their secret deliberations was all that the Covenanters could have desired. Bishop Guthrie records that it was the opinion of the royalists that William Murray was caballing with Hamilton and Argyle against the King, and that their alleged disagreements were all simulate. Secret history sheds no light upon the characters of this triumvirate that does not confirm the scandal.

Upon the 23d of October was fought the battle of Edge-hill, the first between the King and the Parliament. The royal forces were sufficiently successful to "abate the courage" of the Parliamentarians, and Hamilton now made a fashion, after his miserable kind, of opposing Argyle. Baillie, alluding to the loyalists, says, that now "the faction had got the *new accession* of the Hamiltons." Such was the posture of affairs when Montrose made that sudden move to the Court, the announcement of which, to the Reverend Mr Spang, we have already quoted from our invaluable chronicler.

When Montrose arrived at Newcastle, he learnt that the Queen had landed at Burlington, on her return from Holland. His approaches in that quarter not being prohibited by the act which excluded him from the presence of Charles, he proceeded at once to her Majesty, whom he informed of the critical state of affairs in Scotland. At York, when the Queen had recovered from the fatigues and agitations of her voyage, she sent for Montrose, to continue the

conference. There, however, Hamilton also joined her, and the high-minded impetuous Montrose, who had never been suffered by the favourite to enter the court circle, was no match for a practised diplomatist, and plausible double-dealer, who from his youth had been as it were a member of the royal family. The result of this conference is well known. When the Queen put to Montrose the despairing question,—' what is to be done,'—the Graham's answer was ready : ' Resist,' he said, ' resist force with force,—the King has loyal subjects in Scotland,—they have wealth, and influence, and hearts stout and true,—they want but the King's countenance and commission,—the only danger is delay,—if the army of the Covenant be allowed to make head, loyalty will be crushed,—the rebellious cockatrice must be bruised in the egg,—physic is too late when the disease has overrun the body.' But Hamilton, waiving his anecdotes of the immortal Gustavus, and dismissing the many chivalrous recollections of his own military career, forgetting even, that once upon a time he had called Scotland " this miserable country," and had spoken of the " insolency of this rebellious nation," and urged the King to visit it with fire and sword,—thus spoke to the Queen : ' That stout and warlike nation,' he said, ' is not to be reduced by force of arms, but with gentleness and courtesies. Civil war is a thing to be avoided by all means. It were but a sorry triumph should the King succeed, and my soul abhors to speak the consequences if he fail. Let there be peace by all means, nor ought the King yet to despair of amity with Scotland. If his Majesty will invest me with sufficient authority, and trust the conduct of affairs to me, I will take their settlement upon my own responsibility.' ' I see,' replied

Montrose, ' what the end of this will be. The traitors will be allowed time to raise their armies, and all will be lost.' But the declaration of Hamilton, whom her Majesty imagined to be omnipotent in Scotland, that he would take upon himself the cause of the King, and support it by a diplomacy more secure and powerful than an immediate appeal to arms, the result of which appeal, he declared, would in all probability be a failure, prevailed with the Queen. Montrose was discomfited and dismissed, his proud heart swelling with a consciousness of truth and loyalty disregarded, and with a sad foreboding that Charles was mistaken when he said, in the Parliament of Scotland, that " the Devil shall not prevail in this country."* Her Majesty, having promis-

* Dr Cook (Vol. iii. p. 74,) characterizes Montrose's spirited offers to the Queen as a " feeble effort to save Charles from the degradation which awaited him." He adds, that Montrose's " sentiments respecting the state of the public mind were *well founded*, but the counsel which he gave, he had taken no prudent method to carry into effect. Bold and ardent in his resolutions, and disgusted at the popular faction with which he had once acted, he was *deficient in that calmness* and solidity of judgment which the critical period at which he lived so much required." This polished sentence is unjust to Montrose, and will bear no inspection. What are those *prudent* measures which Montrose at this crisis either could or should have adopted, and omitted ? How had he failed in calmness and solidity of judgment ? Did the *calmness* of Hamilton save Charles from degradation ? Baillie's account is :—" On the report of the Queen's landing, the most of our *evil* Lords went to York. God divided their tongues there for our good. The common report among us goes, to the which the parties themselves give grounds, that Montrose having a writ, as he said, from twenty-two noblemen, or many of chief respect, did offer to the Queen a levy of ten thousand Scots, and for this should have received ten thousand Sterling; that Hamilton being advised, demonstrated the impossibility of that performance; for this disappointment Montrose refused to have any society with Hamilton, notwithstanding of all her Majesty's endeavours." Will it be said that if countenance and authority, and all possible means, had been conferred by their Majesties upon Montrose at that time, and Hamilton cast off, that the aspect of affairs would not have been changed, and a loyal army on foot ? The calm counsels, and solid judgment of Hamilton,

ed a Dukedom to Hamilton as the reward of his services, communicated the result to the King at Oxford, and the Marquis returned to his secret conclaves with Argyle.

Montrose, Napier, Erskine, Ogilvy, and Sir George Stirling, to whose councils was now added the wisdom of Sir Robert Spotiswood, and the dangerous aid of such a waverer as Calendar, (once more with Montrose,) held frequent meetings together, and, notwithstanding the late persecution of the Plotters, contrived to transmit the same propositions that were offered to the Queen. But Hamilton had also replaced himself in the confidence of Charles, and Montrose was again rejected. It had been the policy of the jealous favourite, from the time when he first excluded Montrose from the pre-

brought this about, that, in the beginning of the following year, the army of Scotch rebels crossed the borders. Calmness, as contradistinguished from the advice of Montrose to the Queen, could be nothing but cowardice or treachery. A rebel army was opposed to the King in England; and the moment the Queen landed, she was bombarded in her bed-room on the key, with cross-bar shot, by the gallant Vice-Admiral Batten, and, adds Clarendon, "forced out of her bed, some of the shot making way through her own chamber, and to shelter herself under a bank in the open fields." Spalding narrates it thus:—"Her Majesty, having mind of no evil, but glad of rest, now wearied by the sea, is cruelly assaulted; for these six rebel ships sets their broad-sides to her lodging, batters the house, dings down the roof, or (before) she wist of herself. Always she gets up out of her naked bed, in her night waly-coat, bare foot and bare leg, with her maids of honour, (whereof one through plain fear went stark mad, being ane nobleman of England's dochter,) she gets safely out of the house. Albeit the stanes were flisting about her head, yet courageously she goes out, they shooting still, and by providence of the Almighty she escapes, and all her company, except the foresaid maid of honour, and goes to ane den, which the cannon could not hurt, and on the bare fields she rested, instead of stately lodgings, cled with curious tapestrie." Montrose may be excused if he were not calm in such times, nor was there any want of solidity of judgment in recommending ten thousand loyalists in arms as the best Scotch receipt against the crisis illustrated by Admiral Batten's cross-bar shot.

sence-chamber, to represent him as a forward and presumptuous, but shallow enthusiast, whose best principle was vanity, and his best policy an impracticable romance. The present faction of Hamilton, composed of the trimming and the treacherous, who, by their leader's junction with Argyle, formed the link betwixt the King and his ruin, now industriously promulgated the same estimate of Montrose, which has been prolonged to the present day, through the artful medium of Hamilton's apologist Burnet. Yet the advice of Montrose to her Majesty was as sound as it was honest; and it could not have failed of success, if Hamilton had not been deficient both in honesty and courage. The broad question, in that struggle for ascendency with the Queen, was how to prevent the covenanting Scots from aiding the Rebellion in England. Montrose had already satisfied himself, and the result proved how accurate were his anticipations, that everything was in train in Scotland, for a combination with the English Parliament against the Throne. The army was revived, even as the King quitted Scotland, and in this Montrose refused to take command, for the manner of its resuscitation belied its professed object, and indeed the whole state of the covenanting councils clearly indicated that army to be Argyle's, and that its military leader, instead of being the King's Earl of Leven, was still the little crooked mercenary, Alexander Leslie. Though now in Ireland with their commander, these forces, as Montrose foresaw, were ready to return in support of the movement, whenever the Dictator beckoned to them. Argyle only waited for a Convention of the Estates, and a General Assembly, the fields in which he was omnipotent. By the late treaty, Charles had granted triennial Parliaments to Scotland, and the first was to be in the month

of June 1644. But to further the schemes of the faction, (whose present plea of agitation was that inconsistent and shameless one, uniformity, in the mode of worship throughout the whole kingdom,) an immediate Parliament was importunately demanded, and the King, who saw the drift, resolutely referred them to the appointed time. In the month of February, when Montrose and Hamilton were with the Queen, the Chancellor Loudon, and Henderson, the leader of the Scotch clergy, were executing a commission at Court, their principal instructions being to obtain a warrant for calling a Parliament in Scotland, and to urge the absolute necessity of a uniform mode of worship, in other words, that the Presbyterian Covenant should be extended to England. This impudent mission was of course unsuccessful, except for the purposes of agitation, and when the commissioners returned to Edinburgh, the Council, the Conservators (so called) of the peace, and the Commissioners of the Assembly, met in grand conclave on the 10th of May. "Because the matter was of importance," says Baillie, "Argyle contrived it so, that the three bodies, all much interested, should be called together."

By this time Hamilton, whose success with the Queen of course implied the same with her devoted consort, was not only invested with the command he had formerly abused of the affairs of Scotland, but the inducement held out to him by the Queen to perform his promises was realized, and the favourite was now a Duke. When he supplanted Montrose at York, Hamilton pledged himself to effect two principal objects, by means of his superior tactics, and influence over the councils of that kingdom. He was to prevent a Scottish army taking the field in aid of the Parliament, and he was by all means

to prevent a meeting of the Estates of Scotland, until the time appointed for their triennial Parliament. "There were," says Clarendon, in a passage that had been suppressed until the late edition, "many persons of honour of that kingdom, who professed entire submission and devotion to his Majesty, and who, I believe, really were not inclined to that faction which his Majesty apprehended. All these were directed privately to be advised and disposed by the Marquis of Hamilton, (whom the King had now raised to the dignity of a Duke,) who had solemnly promised his Majesty, either by his interest in the councils, to prevent the resolution to invade England, or by his power and the assistance of his party there to resist it; and, therefore, all those Lords, and persons of honour, whom the King relied upon, were directed to be entirely guided by him; all that the King desired from his subjects of that his native kingdom being, that they would not rebel."* But while Charles thus fatally repeated the confidence in his favourite by which Scotland was lost to him in 1639, there was scarcely an honest and reflecting mind in either country that did not regard him with more or less of the feelings by which Montrose was continually impelled to denounce him as a traitor. Among the Ormonde papers is a letter, dated 1st June 1643, from Sir Robert Poyntz to the Marquis of Ormonde, containing a curious passage, from which we learn the *on dit* of the day, on the subject of Montrose's conference with the Queen, and the respective characters of the parties: "They say a Scottish nobleman, Montrose, with a knight, Sir Robert Spotiswood, came to the Queen with good proffers of real service, which were

* Hist. Vol. iv. p. 624.

seconded by a Popish Lord, Nithisdale. They were persuaded the safest way was by the Queen, whose course by many is judged very constant and fixed, whereas other courses are too moveable. But the Marquis of Hamilton, and another nobleman (whose name I have forgotten, not being well acquainted with the Scotch Lord's titles, but sure I am he was Treasurer in the time of the Scotish troubles)* came too, *knowing Montrose's intentions*, and was so powerful with those whom her Majesty primely trusts, that he did defeat all their course and intentions, and made the Queen give little countenance to Montrose, who (as his countrymen say) is a generous spirit, but hath not so good a head-piece as Hamilton. Hamilton hath undertaken to the Queen to keep the Scots at home. Montrose, when he came home, being discontented, hath reconciled himself to the Marquis of Argyle ;† yet I hear understanding Scots say the quarrel and wrong is irreconcileable, and Argyle of his own nature implacable, yet is so subtle that he can hugely dissemble. *If the Marquis of Hamilton keep what he hath promised to the Queen, all will be well. But the wiser sort suspect him, and e'er long by the consequents it will appear.* There be more than pregnant reasons to suspect him and fear the worst, as some inform. For Montrose was the only man to be the head and leader of the King's party ; and, being of an high spirit, cannot away with contempts and affronts."

That the feeling of the best men in both countries was with Montrose, (even at this time, when, according

* This was Traquair, whom the plausible Hamilton now carried along with him in his policy, and who had some reason to dread being found in the same boat with Montrose.

† The origin of this rumour will be apparent presently.

to our modern historians, he had just been darkly plotting assassinations and massacres,) and that Hamilton and Argyle were properly appreciated already, is sufficiently manifest from this dispassionate account, although the utterance of honest opinions was now smothered by the pressure of faction. * Even before the date of this letter, Hamilton had grossly failed in the performance of his pledges. At their conclave, of the 10th of May, when the King's determination was announced not to grant a Parliament until the diet that had been fixed, it was immediately proposed to call a Convention of the Estates without his sanction; and although Hamilton, with the covenanting Lord Advocate for his counsel, (against whom, however, was set off Sir Thomas Hope the younger,) opposed this motion, or rather made a fashion of doing so, it was carried almost unanimously, and the Convention fixed for the 22d of June. †

Thus in any view of the matter Montrose was right.

* Sir Robert Poyntz begs the Marquis to burn his letter, a direction not unfrequently disobeyed.

† "Hamilton, Southesk, and the good advocate, urged that the three bodies were met only for consultation." This was carried against them. "The next question was more hotly handled, of their power to call the Estates. This Argyle and Wariston made clear by law and sundry *palpable practiques*."—*Baillie*. Here Wariston was fulfilling his old threat to Charles, that he would seek out old practiques against him; but he was not very nice as to their being in point, and could have convinced the mystified Baillie that black was white. The act of calling the Estates together, under all the circumstances, was, as a constitutional or legal act, unprecedented, and indeed an unequivocal declaration of open rebellion. Hamilton craved delay, which was granted for one night. He then gave it as his opinion to his friends, that the best way was to allow the convention to be called, and then to *absent themselves from the convention*. Accordingly, on the 11th, when the measure was triumphantly carried, Hamilton, the Advocate, and a few others, did not appear.

If Scotland was so completely at the mercy of the Argyle faction that the voice of the illustrious Hamilton, * clothed with vice-regal authority, was powerless in that conclave, he had grossly misinformed, and fatally misled the Queen, both as to the state of Scotland, and his own influence there. If, on the other hand, his opposition was simulate, and merely for the purpose of enabling him to sustain his double part, then he was the traitor Montrose ever declared him to be. But his next act was one of more palpable and positive duplicity. In the plausible correspondence by which he still persuaded Charles that the present crisis could not be imputed to his prime minister, he further impressed him with a belief that the loyal Scottish Lords were unanimously of opinion that they should not absent themselves from the Convention, but make their stand there for the King. Upon this the King wrote a letter containing a qualified assent to the presence of his friends in that Convention, and of this letter Hamilton made a use, (the evidence for which seems unquestionable,) that stamps his character at once. The truth appears to have been that, instead of inclining to attend, t he unanimous feeling of the loyal noblemen was, that they should rendezvous in arms, and plans were laid to that effect, some feeble demonstrations of supporting which were made by Hamilton himself. But to him these noblemen looked, as commanded by the King, for advice and instructions at this critical juncture. The

* Clarendon, in the suppressed passage from which we have already quoted, assigns this reason why their Majesties could act no otherwise than they did by Montrose. "Hamilton was by much, in alliance and dependents, the most powerful man in that kingdom, and so, if he were willing, was unquestionably able to give life and head to any party that should stoutly declare for the King, which no other man in Scotland, how well affected soever, was able to do."

Duke used his whole influence to persuade them that the best mode of supporting the King was to attend at the Convention, and when he found them more sceptical than he anticipated, he betook himself to the disgraceful juggle of telling them it was the King's own opinion and desire. Then from the Royal letter, he quoted to them a single sentence, which, thus taken without the context, seemed to prove his assertion, and silenced, if it did not satisfy, the majority of the loyal noblemen.

But Montrose had fathomed the wily favourite, and was not to be so persuaded. One inducement Hamilton particularly pressed, and that was, that if they would all attend to support him in the Convention, the moment it opened he would rise and protest that it was illegal, in which they were to follow his example, and this, he argued, would have the effect of dissolving the Estates. But, he added, if this did not succeed, the appeal to arms would be in good time. Hamilton now strenuously exerted himself, through the medium of others, to induce, by these arguments, Montrose to put himself under his auspices, and attend the Convention. 'I am ready,' said Montrose, 'to grapple with any difficulty, especially under the command of one who has the high honour to be his Majesty's chief Commissioner; but the Convention I will join only upon this one condition; the Duke must engage his honour, that, if justice and equity be not obtained from the Convention, he will seek it by the sword.' 'I will *protest*,' replied Hamilton, 'but I will not *fight*.'* So Montrose shook the

* Thus in the Latin of Dr Wishart,—"*ut fidem daret, si justum et æquum in conventu impetrare non posset, se illud armis repetiturum. Ille* protestaturum *se respondit non* pugnaturum. *Quibus perpensis*

dust from his feet, and departed to his own home, to watch the event.

There can be no doubt as to Montrose's meaning when he claimed, from that meeting of Estates, justice and equity. The King had come in person to settle Scotland, and, according to the words of their own acts, had returned a contented King from a contented People. He had given up to them his most important prerogatives, granted every demand in reference to Religion and Liberties, agreed to an act of oblivion, and, moreover, bestowed rewards upon the most guilty. On their part the covenanting leaders had deeply pledged themselves, not to diminish his royal authority, or suffer a diminution of it by others. Upon their asseverations of positive loyalty, Charles had no reason to rely. But he might at least expect the negative fulfilment of their part of the treaty, in sustaining the character of a contented People. Montrose's notions of justice and equity led him to this simple conclusion, that any meeting of Estates called at this juncture could be justified upon no other grounds than a determination, on the part of Scotland, to make good their loyal pledges by now declaring for the King against the rebel Parliament. This was no romance, or fantastical assumption of heroism, but the dictates of common honesty. Nor was it a mere ebullition of spleen against Hamilton and Argyle. Montrose was sanctioned in his present policy by the approbation and advice of his excellent relative, Lord Napier, who also kept himself unsullied from this unprincipled Convention. Among the Napier manuscripts, there is one which clearly refers to the present crisis, and may unquestionably be

*Montisrosanus*, ut se purum conservaret, *rei eventum præstolaturus domi se continuit.*"

taken as the exposition of the sentiments of that small conservative party, of whom Montrose was the chief in action, and Napier in council. Let it be remembered, that at the time when the manuscript we are about to quote was written, Montrose and his friends had just been released from a most tyrannical imprisonment, and were even now excluded from the presence and councils of their Sovereign, as unworthy and dangerous persons. Yet we find in their own deliberations at this time, no symptoms of virulent or vindictive feelings against their enemies, no abatement of their loyalty, nothing but the calm reflections and arguments of honourable and single-hearted statesmen.

"*Whether the King's authority should be maintained by us, or no?*

"It seems strange to me to enter a dispute whether we should be dutiful subjects or no,—for in effect that is the state of the question. It is a principle, and is not to be controverted, nor put in deliberation—*nam qui deliberant desciverunt*—but the affirmative is to be firmly holden by good subjects, without dispute. That which is opposed against it is, our late treaty with England, which is very compatible with the duty of subjects, and neither doth, nor can it prejudice our duty to our Sovereign, although it were (as it is not) conceived and expressed in terms derogatory to the same. For if all the princes of the earth should league together to take from God his due (who is *their* Sovereign, and lord paramount over them all,) their league would not be obligatory. Even so no treaty among subjects to the detriment and prejudice of their Sovereign's right, expressed in what terms soever, can oblige them-

selves, or any other. At the best our treaty with England is but a civil, a legal, or politick faction of men, which can never be destructive of our obligation to our Prince, imposed upon us by the law of God and nature. For if voluntary pactions should be able to cancel divine and natural obligations, then should our will be our law, which is absurd, especially seeing of late in a most solemn manner we have covenanted the observation of the same before God and his people. Besides, that treaty was made for a durable peace betwixt the English and us, which cannot possibly be maintained unless the bond that unites us, (which is the sovereign power over us both) be strong, and in its own natural vigour. And it is not to be imagined that these two warlike nations, ancient enemies, and bordering one upon another, can be kept in peace, (where there is daily cause of quarrelling, and some too ready to take hold of the occasion)* if the bond that unites them be weak, disabled, or dissolved. To desire, then, that treaty to be kept, and not to maintain the authority that is only able to do it, is, by a most senseless solecism, to desire the end, and not to endure the means, which, in the terms, things now stand in, seems to be the only means under heaven to procure peace, which Almighty God has put in our hands, and which, if we neglect, we shall never be able to answer, but must both be, and reputed to be, the cause of all those miseries and calamities that a civil war brings with it. This, by only performance of our duty, may be prevented, for he that may and will not prevent a mischief acts it.

" That our maintaining the King's lawful authority is the only means of peace appears by this reason. When men leave the highway of reason and equity,

* See Montrose's Letter, Vol. i. p. 408.

and follow that of interest and passion, there is but two ways to reduce them, persuasion or force. The distractions and mutual jealousies of these times are too far advanced for persuasion or accommodation ; but if there were hopes of that course, who is he that is able to set down marches betwixt a King and his People. It requires more than human sufficiency to walk so even a pace betwixt the prerogative of a prince, and the privilege of the subject, as shall content both, or be just in itself ; and where it hath been attempted (as in England and other places it hath) it was but a plastering, and the skin drawn over the wound, which festered after, and was ever cured by the sword. There rests, then, no other means but that of force ; for as it is violence that has dispossessed the King of his authority, it is force on the other side that can repossess him.

" And certainly it is in our power, by the favour of God, to re-establish him, and, consequently, a settled peace betwixt the King and his subjects, and the subjects among themselves, by only doing that which by all the laws of God and man we are obliged to do ; which is, to declare ourselves willing to maintain his Majesty's lawful authority with our persons and fortunes. For if the adverse party shall find the King possessed with the hearts of this people, together with these forces which in England (where there is no doubt many loyal subjects) will stick to him, it will make them hearken to reason, and yield to his Majesty those rights justly belonging to monarchy, which his royal predecessors enjoyed ; and further, I persuade myself, he will never desire nor demand, having by experience found the danger of his power too highly strained. And to grant him that, rather than adventure a dangerous war, will never, I should think, be refused by

wise men, who know that it is not the way of peace to bind the lion so hard that the blood burst out, (the sight whereof enrages him, and makes him break his bands), but they will suffer him to enjoy his natural liberty, who is so noble and generous, that he will only prey for necessary food, and not for destruction like the base beasts of the field."*

The result of the Convention, which Hamilton by his juggling neither could nor cared to prevent, is well known. In conjunction with the General Assembly, which sat down in August thereafter, it gave birth to the two measures that may be said to have turned the scale against the monarchy. It decreed the army, that, under the command of the perjured Earl of Leven, entered England, as auxiliaries of the Parliament, on the 15th of January 1644; † and that Assembly, at which his Majesty's Advocate was Commissioner, ‡ repeated, in a form deprived of its only credi-

* Original MS. in Lord Napier's handwriting. This must have been written before it had been openly determined to invade England, with the army that crossed the borders six months after the meeting of the Convention in June 1643.

† In a letter dated 2d June 1643, Baillie, writing in one of his half-crazy fits of excitement at a new impulse given to the movement, indicates that the object of the convention just carried was well understood: "We are all a-flight for this great meeting. It is expected there will be Commissioners from the Parliament of England *to require us to arm for them.* We have a solemn fast in all the land Wednesday before the 22d, and Sunday before the Wednesday. We had never more need of God's mercy—our sins are many—the divisions of our nobles open and proclaimed—the divisions of our church nothing less than they were."

‡ Baillie makes some curious confessions as to Sir Thomas Hope's appointment. The royal commission it seems, had been sent "from Oxford to the Secretary Lanerick, blank, to be filled with whose name he and some others thought expedient." Glencairn and Lindsay were each named, but refused, because they felt that they could not fulfil the instructions of the King, and keep their position with the faction. The Lord Advocate's name was then inserted without his knowledge, or de-

table feature, their Covenant of the year 1638, under the infamous name of "the Solemn League and Covenant," which was embraced, by its new proselytes in England, with all the honest enthusiasm of puritanical democracy, in the month of August 1643, and returned in October following, to be rebaptized with the precious tears of covenanting Scotland.

As Montrose watched this rapid fulfilment of his own predictions, the result of Hamilton's magnificent promise and solemn pledges, his blood boiled within him, and he became more and more bound to the desperate resolution, of spending every drop of that blood in defence of the King and the Throne, though he were left alone in the contest with their destroyers. We cannot resist the temptation of here anticipating, from a manuscript we must afterwards give entire, a reply of Montrose's to the clerical tormentors who attended him to the scaffold, showing the indelible impression made upon his mind by the crisis we have just considered:

"Then falling on the main business, they charged him with breach of Covenant. He answered,—'The Covenant I took; I own it and adhere to it. Bishops, I care not for them—I never intended to advance their interest.* But when the King had granted you all your desires, and you were every one sitting under his

sire, for, adds Baillie, "of him they had small care whether he lost himself or not. The instructions were thought to be very hard; yet the Advocate did not execute, nor name any of them to count of; for he was *so wise*, and *so well dealt with by his two sons*, that he resolved to say nothing to the church or country's prejudice." Again,—"The Moderator (Henderson) and Argyle did so always overawe his Grace, that he made us not great trouble."

* This was precisely the opinions of his friend Lord Napier, who wrote against "Churchmen's greatness," and yet maintained the doctrine of the divine right of Kings.

own vine and under his fig-tree, that then you should have taken a party in England by the hand, and entered into a league and covenant with them against the King—was the thing I judged my duty to oppose to the uttermost. That course of your's ended not but in the King's death, and overturning the whole of the Government."

Montrose had no doubt that the intention of the Covenanters was to join the Parliament, when he proposed those energetic measures to the Queen, and although rejected in that quarter, he neither indulged in splenetic feelings, nor for a moment relaxed his exertions in favour of the desperate cause of the Throne. Had he possessed the wayward and irritable temper attributed to him, there was now reason and opportunity for its excitement and indulgence. To the meaner mind of Argyle, the moment seemed favourable for drawing Montrose into the schemes of the faction. Accordingly, soon after the triumph of Hamilton at York, Argyle commissioned two of his emissaries, Sir James Rollock, and Sir Mungo Campbell, to make a proposal to our hero, similar to the temptation offered Huntly at the commencement of the troubles. It was intimated to Montrose that he would be relieved from all pecuniary embarrassment, by the discharge of his debts, and himself preferred to the highest place of command among them, next to the Earl of Leven, as the price of apostacy in favour of the democratic movement. Montrose, adds Bishop Guthrie,* in order to

* Dr Wishart refers in more general terms to these attempts to gain Montrose, and both authors are confirmed in their statement by a curious reference to the fact in a letter of Baillie's, written in July 1643, where he says,—"Argyle and our nobles especially since Hamilton's falling off,

gain time, gave them a dilatory answer. In a fortnight they returned to him with the same offers, but still striving for delay and information, he professed some scruples of conscience, and told them he must first hold a conference with their great apostle, Henderson, (who had not yet returned from his mission at Court with the Chancellor,) before his doubts and difficulties could be solved. Thus, without compromising his principles, our hero contrived to elude persecution for the time, while he strenuously exerted himself, in the north and elsewhere, to organize a party in support of the Throne. Henderson, as already noticed, returned early in May; but it was not until shortly before the meeting of the Convention on the 22d of June, that Montrose held the conference he had proposed. In the meanwhile the Earls of Antrim and Nithisdale, and the young Lord Aboyne, their spirit roused and their hopes excited, by the ardent counsels of Montrose at York, were in anxious correspondence on the subject of raising a force to keep the rebel Covenanters in check. About the beginning of May, the Earl of Antrim, then at York with the Queen, received a letter from Nithisdale, in which he says,—"Hamilton, I do fear, hath done *bad offices to the King* since his return. My Lord, I am very confident Montrose will not flinch from what he professed at York." Thereafter, on the 8th of May, the same nobleman writes, in a

would have been content *for the peace of the country*, to have dispensed with that man's (Montrose) by-past misdemeanours; but private ends misleads many. He, Antrim, Huntly, Airly, Nithisdale, and more, are ruined in their estates. Public commotions are their private subsistence." The fact here alluded to with such spleen,—that Montrose was incorruptible,—is not the best evidence that he lived by public commotions, or loved to fish in troubled waters. It is amusing to find this factious and deluded clergyman charging Montrose with the notorious vice of the party who wished to gain him.

letter to the same, as if he had doubts of Montrose, a suspicion probably arising from the circumstance, that the latter was at this time in communication with the emissaries of Argyle. "I am not," says Nithisdale, "altogether desperate of Montrose; but say he were changed, I am in good hope, you shall not lack well-affected subjects in Scotland to prosecute that point we resolved on. One thing I think strange, that the ammunition granted to your Lordship and Aboyne should be stopped. My Lord, without that, neither can the Marquis of Huntly do service, nor can your friends in the Isles and Highlands be useful to you. So do your best to have it sent quickly away, and be confident you shall have assistance, though it must take a longer time, of the which I shall give your Lordship notice. So let no alteration be thought upon, though a little it must be deferred."*

But there was no change in Montrose. Upon Saturday, the 3d of June, the Marquis of Huntly came quietly to Old Aberdeen, where he directed the Lord Aboyne to go and meet the two individuals he expected, who were no less than Montrose himself, and the eldest son of the Earl of Airly, Lord Ogilvy, who

* This correspondence, (which will be found in Spalding,) along with letters from Aboyne on the same subject, was taken from the pockets of the Earl of Antrim, who was captured by the covenanting Major-General Munro, about the 23d of May 1643. The Earl was on his way from York, and endeavouring to land in Ireland, to further the schemes in favour of the King, when he was seized by the Covenanters, under pretext of his being "a notorious rebel." The usual tactics were adopted upon this occasion. The discovery of the correspondence of the loyalists was made a handle of the most violent agitation, and the "conservators of the peace" issued a flaming declaration to inform the people of both kingdoms, of "this treacherous and damnable plot of the Irish, English, and Scottish papists." The Earl of Antrim contrived to make his escape to the King at Oxford before the end of the year 1643, where we will find him concerting measures with Montrose, for counteracting the rebellion of the Covenanters.

shared the affections and companionship of Montrose equally with the young Lord Napier. These, Aboyne conducted to his father. Huntly and Montrose now met under very different circumstances than when the Covenant was imposed upon the good town of Aberdeen. That night the whole party supped and lodged together in the house of one George Middleton. On the next day, which was Sunday, they attended divine service, forenoon and afternoon, and thus remained living together until Tuesday morning, when Huntly left them, and rode to Haddo's house of Kelly. On the following day, Montrose, Ogilvy, Marischal, and Banff, having met together, went in company to join Huntly at Kelly, where, says Spalding, they all remained that night in a very joyful manner. On the morrow they parted. Huntly rode to Strathbogie, Marischal to Inverugie, and Banff to Raittie. Montrose and Ogilvy returned to George Middleton's house, and from that rode south, on their way to the King. Such are the facts noted by the immortal Aberdonian, Spalding, who had watched the movements of these distinguished individuals with much interest. If they had only invited him to their merriment at Kelly, how much might we have known of the state of affairs that are now in darkness. This meeting was evidently connected with Montrose's scheme in support of the King, and, from Spalding's account, it would appear that the parties had separated mutually satisfied with each other. Yet, if Baillie's information is to be trusted, the result was unfortunate, owing to the waywardness of that unsettled youth, the Earl Marischal, who appears to have been sometimes swayed by his companion in arms, Montrose, but more frequently by his cunning and powerful relative, Argyle. "Montrose,"

says Baillie in his letter to Spang of the 26th July, " called a meeting at Old Aberdeen, of sundry noblemen, to subscribe a writ for an enterprize, under Montrose and Ogilvy's conduct, which Huntly subscribed ; but Marischal refused absolutely, and made Huntly recall his subscription, which, in the great providence of God, seems to have marred the design."

It was immediately after this expedition to the north, that Montrose effected his interview with Alexander Henderson, whom he was very anxious to sound, that he might positively assure himself of the measures to be proposed at the Convention now about to meet. But he was careful not to compromise his character, in those calumnious times, by a private meeting with the Moderator of the Kirk, unaccompanied by such witnesses as would be a sure guarantee of the integrity of his own position in this delicate affair. On a day between the 10th and 22d of June, another scene of the Plotters occurred well worthy of the pencil of Vandyke. There came to a spot, on the banks of the Forth, hard by the Bridge of Stirling, the celebrated political clergyman, whose head and hand were never away from the work of revolutionary agitation, although the clamour against the Bishops for their connection with secular affairs, was a war cry of the faction whom this zealot so ardently aided. Henderson was the very Don Quixote of Presbyterianism, and all his recent misgivings at the crooked ways of the Covenant, and something like a yearning towards the more honest and enlightened paths of loyalty,—not unmarked by the determined democrats whose tool he became,—were now merged in the new insanity of this Presbyterian crusade against Episcopal England. But his lucid interval came again, and, broken hearted, he died ere the murder of his So-

vereign had consummated that crusade. He was attended on the present occasion by Sir James Rollock, whose first wife was the sister of Montrose, but now he was married to the sister of Argyle. To meet these, came the family party of Plotters,—Montrose, Napier, and Sir George Stirling of Keir,—and, according to Wishart, some others, probably Montrose's constant aide-camps, the Lord Ogilvy, and the Master of Napier. For two hours, "by the water-side," did this conference continue. Montrose commenced by expressing his sense of being honoured by the visit of so excellent a person, upon whose faith, honesty, and judgment, he much relied. 'To allow,' he added, 'the ill opinion of my enemies to breathe itself after some little mistakes, I have been contented to remain in domestic retirement, and am altogether ignorant of your Parliamentary affairs; indeed, I am at a loss how to comport myself in these very ticklish times, and must beg of you, for old acquaintance sake, to tell me frankly, what it is you mean to do.' The apostle of the Covenant, who mistook this for the signal of Montrose's apostacy, replied without reserve, that it was resolved to send as strong an army as they could raise, in aid of their brethren of England, and that the Covenanters in both kingdoms had unanimously agreed to bring the King to their lure, or perish in the attempt. Then he uttered hallelujahs over the supposed acquisition of Montrose, and thanks unto his Lord God, who had vouchsafed to make use of himself as the minister and mediator of so great a work. Finally, he entreated Montrose to cast off all reserve, and abandon himself entirely to his guidance and confidence, with regard to every thing he might desire from the Parliament, either in relation to his honour or his profit. But Montrose

had already obtained all he desired from the Reverend Alexander Henderson. They had endeavoured to allure him from the path of honour, and he had outmanœuvred one of the most wily of the faction, whose confessions to Montrose completely justified all the counsels of that loyal nobleman to his sovereign. He had only now to withdraw himself from the conference, without compromising his safety by a quarrel, or his honour by a pledge he meant not to fulfil. Turning to Sir James Rollock, he inquired if their present proposals were in consequence of a direction from the Committee, or out of their own good wills. 'I conceive,' said Sir James, 'that Mr Henderson is commissioned from the Parliament to this effect.' 'Not exactly so,' replied the Moderator, 'but I doubt not the Parliament will make good whatever I promise.' 'Gentlemen,' rejoined Montrose, 'I wish you good evening. In a matter of so high importance, I can form no positive resolutions, where there is not the public faith to build upon, and where the messengers disagree among themselves.' And so saying our hero, who "was stately to affectation," departed with his relatives, leaving the Representative of the Kirk, and the Representative of Argyle, disputing on the banks of the Forth, as to whose fault the omission was, in not coming provided with the credentials of plenipotentiaries.*

* That Montrose in this interview had not the slightest intention of selling himself to the Covenanters, and that he did nothing therein to compromise his honour, is sufficiently guaranteed, even by the fact, that his advisers and companions in that matter were such men as Lord Napier, and Sir George Stirling of Keir.

## CHAPTER VIII.

HOW THE KING TOOK MONTROSE TO HIS COUNCILS, AND SENT HAMILTON TO PRISON, WHEN IT WAS TOO LATE.

In the passage quoted below * it will be found, that, while the character of Hamilton is occasionally handled with a tenderness strangely contradicted by the overwhelming details adopted against him in the same chapter, the notices of Montrose are, from such a writer, unaccountably crude and unjust. A chap-

* "The mysterious conduct of the brothers still continued. Two years after the affair of the Incident, when in 1643 the Scots had resolved to raise an army to maintain their "cause," the Marquis sate among them, and seemed only a looker on; while his brother Lanerick, who had the custody of the King's signet, put it to a proclamation to raise this very Scottish army. This extraordinary act done, the ambiguous brothers hastened to Charles, at Oxford, to justify their proceedings, and to explain that inevitable crisis which affairs had taken. They had, however, been anticipated by the zealous friends of the Monarch, and the ever watchful and vindictive Montrose had again denounced the Hamiltons for their infidelity. Yet even in the present alarming event Charles seems to have seen no treachery, but only misfortune in the brothers. Had they been criminal would they have returned to Court —they who could have framed apologies for their absence? The charges against Hamilton were, however, of so high a nature, and took so wide a view of all his proceedings, and were so positively asserted by the Marquis of Montrose, that, to satisfy the friends about him, the King was compelled to put both brothers under arrest. The Marquis had of late been created Duke of Hamilton, and he who had so long deprived Charles of the zealous services of Montrose, and whose rankling jealousies of that aspiring genus had induced him to pursue the meanest artifices to accomplish Montrose's ruin, now drank himself from the poisoned chalice returned to his own lips."—*D'Israeli's Comment.* V. iv. p. 312.

ter composed of damning facts, and severe expressions, against Hamilton, alternated with merciful doubts and deprecating conjectures, is at least in keeping with his double career, and wofully impotent conclusion. And such conflict of judgment, upon the character of the man who of all others was dear to Charles I., may be pardoned in so loyal a writer. But why is Montrose—the brave, the unflinching, self-sacrificed martyr of loyalty—made to occupy so dark a spot in that picture? A poisoned chalice, it seems, mingled with rankling jealousies, and the meanest artifices, had been presented by Hamilton to Montrose, which Montrose now returned to the lips of the falling favourite. Deprived of its dramatic ornament, and in its naked sense, this can only mean that Montrose was no less depraved, in his jealousies and duplicity, than Hamilton, and that his present political position was simply that of one treacherous statesman repaying another in kind. In the same breath, however, we are told of the zealous services of the ever watchful Montrose — which can mean nothing else than his devoted loyalty at the most hopeless crisis for monarchy,—and of, " that aspiring genus,"—a meagre allusion to the very characteristics by which Montrose is so brightly distinguished from Hamilton, no less than from Argyle. Yet, after all, the same paragraph insinuates that the Hamiltons were denounced for their infidelity solely by one individual, that individual being the " vindictive" Montrose. And then comes, as if to break the fall of these Hamiltons, the deprecating question,—" had they been criminal, would they have returned to court, they who could have framed apologies for their absence?"

Against such elegant and ingenious commentaries let us place facts.

It will admit of no doubt that Hamilton supplanted Montrose at York, by deeply pledging himself to her Majesty, and afterwards to the King, in the manner we have detailed. Clarendon fully records the fact, which even the correspondence produced by Burnet sufficiently proves. The payment in advance to Hamilton was the dukedom, the first rumour of which is thus noticed by Baillie :—" The report goes, *which to me is a fable*, of Hamilton's advancement to a duchy, and marriage with one of the Queen of Bohemia's daughters." The first fruits of Hamilton's policy, that appears in the Memoirs of his house, is a letter to the Queen, dated 21st April 1643, in which he tells her Majesty there is little change in the affairs of Scotland, or likely to be until the meeting of the Council in May. He refers to the rumour (but without condemning it as false and factious,) that the Chancellor, and other Scotch Commissioners then in London, were prisoners, and even in danger of assassination, and he urges the propriety of instantly despatching them to Scotland. He also earnestly recommends that all the loyal Scotch Lords at Court should be sent to Scotland to aid the royal cause. If this advice was sincere, the results at least were unfortunate; and whether they intended it or not, in this matter both brothers most effectually played into the hands of the Covenanters. The Commissioners came down, and Argyle refused to postpone the motion for a Convention, any longer than to the 11th of May. It was of great consequence that the Secretary of State should have been present, in order to lay before the Council, and the Country, a paper of admirable instructions, and a most satisfactory de-

claration from his Majesty, calculated to quiet every honest mind in Scotland. The Convention was carried, and after that irreparable injury to the King's cause, Lanerick appeared with his instructions, on the 15th, and was, or pretended to be, much enraged at what had taken place. Baillie, however, tells us, in a sentence where first and secondary causes are curiously mingled, that the Secretary having posted to the Queen at York, " for the perfecting of his instructions, his stay was much longer than the affairs he was entrusted with did require ; for it seems his Majesty did reckon to have had his mind by Lanerick declared to the Council, as soon as the Commissioners could make their report ; but, whether by Lanerick's design, or negligence, *God's providence* carried it otherwise."

The summoning home the loyal Scotch Lords had an equally providential result for the faction. No sooner were they " sent home," than a storm of persecution, in which the English Parliament combined with the Covenanters, assailed them as *incendiaries*, while Hamilton, under whose orders the King had placed them, tied their hands with his plausible juggling, and cheated them of their loyalty. One of the most distinguished of these was the Earl of Carnwath, whose bitter jest against the King's misplaced favours we have noticed. He was summoned " within twenty-four hours, to present his person in the tolbooth, under the pain of ten thousand pounds." This nobleman found it necessary to fly, and his money was seized where the faction could find it. The principal charge against him is also recorded by Baillie. " My Lord Carnwath, that monster of profanity, hath before sundry said to the King, when our Commissioners came to Oxford, ' that Scotland was not content by their own rebellion

to have troubled the King, but also would yet again join with the rebels in England for to ruin the King and his children,' "—than which a declaration more literally true, or breathed in a more honourable spirit, was never put on record. Carnwath, along with Morton, Roxburgh, Kinnoul, Annandale, and Lanerick, on their way through Lancashire, had been induced, it is said, by the Earl of Derby, to write to the Queen, that that county was lost to the King's cause, unless her Majesty sent a supply of troops. This letter was intercepted, or, according to Guthrie, it was revealed by one of themselves, alluding no doubt to Lanerick. Be this as it may, the result was a requisition from the English Parliament, to have the whole of these loyal Lords, who were of the best of the King's advisers for his affairs in Scotland, prosecuted there as incendiaries. " This accident," says Baillie, " puts these men from all thoughts of that service they came to do." Such was the great object to be attained, and, accordingly, when after much discussion and excitement, these new incendiaries actually agreed to write a letter of apology to the English Parliament, to the effect that, " in the meantime, they would give no offence by their intermeddling with any thing that concerned England," Sir Archibald Johnston insisted it should be conceived thus, " and in the meantime they *should not intermeddle*,"—which motion he carried, and thereby prevented all accommodation on the subject.

The King's friends of the intermediate, or moderate party, betwixt the faction of Argyle, and such loyalists as Montrose and his friends, being destroyed in council, and branded with the name of incendiaries, looked anxiously and most doubtingly to their leader Hamilton. How he induced them to attend the Convention

we have seen. When that memorable conclave opened, the *protest* of Hamilton, which was to retrieve every lost step, and supersede the necessity even of arms, was expected with intense anxiety. But the Duke, instead of manfully fulfilling that pledge, was so equivocal in his opposition, that the Dictator, in his most insolent manner, demanded to know if Hamilton meant to protest. Lanerick then rose to speak for his feeble brother, but not in support of the King. "The Earl of Lanerick, brother to the Duke, stood up and said, that noble Lord (the Duke) understood himself too well, and the high jurisdiction of the court where they were, to protest against the wisdom of the whole kingdom, and besought their Lordships to have a more favourable opinion of him; to which the Duke by his silence consented; and so there were no more replies upon the matter."* Upon which the loyal Lords quitted their obnoxious leader, and the Convention in disgust.

Hamilton had alsopersuaded the Queen at York that the warlike counsels of Montrose were unnecessary, for, he said, the army, under the Earl of Leven in Ireland, would remain true to the King, while, on the other hand, any demonstration in arms on the part of the loyalists, would be an infraction of the treaty, and a pro-

* Clarendon. Suppressed passage, Vol. iv. p. 626, Appendix. See also, same volume, p. 295. Burnet's defence of Hamilton in this matter, (p. 234,) amounts to a confirmation of the charge, that after inducing all the loyal Lords to countenance this convention by their presence, on the understanding that they were all to protest in so determined and unanimous a manner that it would have the effect of destroying the convention, he suddenly left them in the lurch, by opposing in such terms as indicated respect, and deference towards this national assembly. Burnet says he was induced to do so by the Lord Advocate, who told him that to protest would be treason, that he should only deliver his opinion, and take instruments.

vocation to rebellion. In his letter to her Majesty, of the 21st of April, this important point is thus alluded to: "By the Lord Montgomery, your Majesty will know how far the General hath promised his best endeavours that his Majesty shall receive no prejudice from the army under his command in Ireland; the same he hath confirmed to me with *deep protestations*, and truly I take him to be a man of that honour that he will perform it." Was Hamilton,—who, upon one pretext or another, had been so long in the secrets of the Covenanters, whose own mother was the leader of the female kirk-militant, and the oracle of her sons,—really ignorant of the fact, that Argyle and the Church of Scotland were the masters of that army, including its commander? Never for a moment had the prime Covenanters left the determination to join the Parliament in arms against the King. The oath of a Covenanter was more brittle than that of a Papist, whom, indeed, the former meanly resembled in the worst characteristics.* It was the express doctrine of Wariston, the Procurator of the Church, that every oath implied such mental reservations as rendered it an empty sound. And such was the doctrine of the Earl of Leven. We need go no further than the confessions of Baillie, (who was yet only half in their secrets,) for the fact, that the Covenanters were stealing into open rebellion, according to their usual tactics. In the month of July, alluding to some advice which the Parliament had craved from their Scotch brethren in writing, their chronicler says,—"in this we carefully abstain from the *mentioning* of arms, that the envy (odium)

* This truth we remember to have heard thus expressed in a doggerel verse, probably from some broadside of the day.

A Covenanting Presbyter is neither more nor less,
Than a power-seeking Papist, in a very dirty dress.

of this conclusion should not justly be put on us." Scotland in general was not with the Argyle faction, though deluded and subjugated by the arts of a tyrannical democracy. About the time when the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, called together at the desire of the Covenanters, was announced to them by an English emissary, and shortly before the General Assembly of the Kirk sat down in August, "for our borders, or rather *to hold our country quiet*, there is appointed a levy of six hundred foot, and two hundred horse." These troops, commanded by Sir John Brown, under pretext of hunting moss-troopers, scoured the whole country *in terrorem* of loyal inclinations, and whisperings among the vulgar against the Cause. When the Solemn League and Covenant was found to be enthusiastically embraced by the English Parliament, the covenanting Convention issued a proclamation on the 24th of August, commanding all between sixteen and sixty "to be in readiness in full arms, with forty days provision, to march to the rendezvous, the Convention or their Committees should appoint." But to delude the people, this proclamation was issued in the King's own name, under the pretext of opposing a popish and prelatic army arrayed against "Religion and Liberties," and to this the Secretary of State, Lanerick, affixed the royal signet, in his keeping, an act scarcely to be accounted for by any theory of his honesty.

Such was the crisis when Montrose once more held a consultation with his friends on the prospects of the Country. He endeavoured to persuade the loyal noblemen to proceed in a body to the King, and, with their united voices, awaken his Majesty to a sense of the approaching storm. But they for the most part were heartless and hopeless, and replied, that, having acquitted

themselves before God, they would meddle no more in civil commotions, but would trust to Providence for better times. Montrose, whom nothing ever depressed or daunted, determined to go without them, and taking along with him his constant companion, Lord Ogilvy, obtained an audience of the Queen at Oxford, towards the end of August. But her Majesty was still in correspondence with Hamilton, and her ears were impervious to all that Montrose could say. Charles was at this time occupied with Gloucester, and thither our hero proceeded, shortly before the King had raised that ill-judged and disastrous siege. But Charles had determined to be guided by the counsels of Hamilton, whose advice was, that peace with Scotland should be preserved, even until their hostile army threatened the borders. Montrose told the King plainly how the favourite had betrayed his cause in Scotland, that the armies of the Covenant, in which a high command had been offered to him, Montrose, were on the eve of mustering, and instantly bound for the borders, and, adds Clarendon, he "made some smart propositions to the King for the remedy." Charles returned to his winter quarters at Oxford unconvinced by the information or entreaties of Montrose, who was still represented to him, by the friends of Hamilton at Court, as a rash though daring and ambitious youth, jealous of the trust reposed in the discretion and fidelity of the Duke.

The predictions of Montrose were fulfilled to the letter. No sooner was the cordial reception in England of the new Covenant ascertained, than the levies proceeded vigorously in Scotland. It is curious to contrast the letter which Hamilton wrote to the Queen in April, assuring her of the loyalty and honour of General Leslie, and to which her Majesty replies,—"I am very

glad to know, by your letter, as likewise by what my Lord Montgomery hath told me, the protestations General Leslie makes concerning the armies in Ireland," —with a letter from Baillie to Spang, narrating the grand result of the Hamiltonian policy. He tells his friend that—" upon the certainty of that Covenant's subscription by any considerable party there, and the provision of some money, we mind *to turn us to God*, by fasting and prayer, and to *levy twenty thousand foot, and four thousand horse.* General Leslie is chosen, and has accepted his old charge. *It is true* he passed many promises to the King, that he would no more fight in his contrare (against him,) but, as he declares, it was with the express and necessary condition, that Religion and the Country's right were not in hazard; and all indifferent men think now they are in a very evident one." Such was a Covenanter's conscience. But the change of circumstances to justify this rebellion was not apparent to all. His old place of Lieutenant-General was offered to Amond, now Earl of Calendar, who could not at once bring himself to that traitorous position. "As yet Amond is *come no further* than to serve for putting the country in arms for defence at home." Montgomery, the very nobleman who, a few months before, carried the assurance of Leslie's fidelity from Hamilton to the Queen, and who had been so forward with the conservative petition, seeing how desperate were the affairs of his Majesty in Scotland, accepted of a regiment in this rebel army. But no entreaties could prevail on Lord Erskine, now domesticated with Napier and Montrose, to accept the regiment of Stirlingshire, importunately pressed upon his command. Baillie, who became so conspicuous as Lieutenant-General of the Covenant, and from whom Montrose reaped fruitless laurels, is mentioned by his

reverend namesake, (in a sentence which also demonstrates the universal opinion of Hamilton,) as being "much dependent on Hamilton, who as yet is *somewhat ambiguous*, suspected of all, loved of none; but it is like he will be quiet." Dear Sandie, the brother of the Earl of Haddington, took his former command of the artillery; and, anon, Lord Sinclair is sent with three troops of newly levied horse, and six hundred foot, to assist the Parliament in seizing Berwick. "So," says Baillie, "the *play is begun*—the good Lord gave it a happy end,—we had much need of your prayers—the Lord be with you,—your cousin, ROBERT BAILLIE."

Such was covenanting Scotland. The movement was again in full play, and a new Covenant most tyrannically pressed upon the Country. It was now *sauve qui peut* with Hamilton and his brother. Would they, asks Mr D'Israeli, if criminal, have returned to Court—they who could have framed apologies for their absence? The Duke, at least, had been criminal for years—and his crime was *double-dealing* betwixt the King and Covenant, dictated by his own vague and impotent ambition. His return to Court at this time was not only natural but inevitable. What apologies could he have framed for his absence now? It was not his game to join the Rebellion. His double-dealing had ever some dreamy reference to future aggrandizement, but his factious star paled before Argyle's, and as the Snake in the grass controlled the Rebellion, the Serpent glided back to the bosom of his master.

Charles, we are informed by Clarendon, had for some time past been much troubled at the continual rumours brought him of the rebellion of the Scots, but

was the last man in believing that they were visibly armed, and upon their march into England. When too late to stop or divert them, his eyes were opened, and he listened with painful anxiety to the irresistible evidence of the hostile approach of his "contented people," and the treachery of his favourite. But Mr D'Israeli's picture of Montrose returning the poisoned chalice to the lips of Hamilton, is scarcely true to history. It was not the reiterated warnings of Montrose that awakened the King—it was not upon his evidence or assurances that Charles was now compelled, against the most powerful pleading of his own affections, to consider the Hamiltons as his enemies, and treat them accordingly. The fact of an invading army of Scots, on the very borders, was pressed upon the King from many quarters, and spoke for itself. It was principally the Earls of Kinnoul, Roxburgh, Morton, Annandale, and Carnwath, who brought the tales of Hamilton's trimming policy, and deceitful conduct to themselves, by which the present crisis had arrived without the slightest check given to the movement. These loyal noblemen were not of the party of Montrose, who had long advised the most determined, or, as they were called, the most desperate measures. The former were more anxious to exonerate themselves, than to accuse the Duke, and by them, says Clarendon, the "instances of Hamilton's wariness was alleged with great temper and sobriety." Then it was that Charles awoke to the truth and value of all Montrose's unheeded counsels. William Murray and other emissaries of the Duke preceded him with letters and information, from which, notwithstanding the plausibility of the favourite, the King could gather no more than this, that having belied every hope, and forfeited every pledge, Hamil-

ton was now hastening to Court, with an army of rebel Scots hard at his heels.

About the close of the year 1643, when the faithless Covenanters had broken their triumphant treaty of 1641 like a cobweb, the King, whom the proceedings of the faction had long released from his declaration that he would take no counsel from Montrose, sent for our hero, now at Court, and put the tardy and difficult question,—'Montrose, what is to be done?'—'Why, please your Majesty,' replied Montrose, 'the state of affairs are not the same as when that question was put to me by her Majesty at York, some twelve months ago. During the interval I have not ceased to be importunate, with both your Majesties, on the subject of the impending danger, and although hitherto unsuccessful to a mortifying degree, I trust that the sincere endeavours of a most faithful servant will no longer be attributed, by so good a master, to ambition, or avarice, or envy towards the Hamiltons, but to their real motives, love for your Majesty, and a sense of my bounden duty. The case seems desperate, which yet had been easily remedied, if the ignorant had not been roused into open rebellion by the arts of some who, possessing the royal confidence, have used the King's own name to ruin and betray himself.'—'I have indeed been shamefully betrayed,' exclaimed the King, 'by those in whom I had placed the most implicit confidence—the safety of a kingdom—my own honour, and my life,'—and again his Majesty earnestly demanded the advice of Montrose, who replied, that, desperate as the crisis seemed, he would yet engage to bring the rebels to their allegiance, by force of arms, or sell his life dearly if he perished in the attempt. The King, adds Dr Wishart, much encouraged by the constancy, and fearless magnanimity of the man,

commanded him to consider the matter for a day or two, and return to deliberate.

At their next conference, Montrose still pledged himself to save the throne in Scotland or die, if his Majesty would only bestow his countenance and authority, and what means he could spare, towards the desperate attempt. But as the garrisons and passes of Scotland were now in complete possession of the Covenanters, who had, moreover, solemnly confederated with the Parliament, Montrose requested an order upon the Marquis of Newcastle, who commanded for the King in the north of England, to provide an escort of horse sufficient to protect him across the borders, and enable him to make such head in the Highlands of Scotland, as would eventually encourage every loyalist to rally round the standard of the King. He proposed that at the same time the Earl of Antrim should be commissioned to raise what forces he could in Ireland, and make a descent with them on the west coast of Scotland, while Denmark was applied to for some troops of German horse, and arms and warlike stores otherwise obtained from abroad.

Such was the state of matters at Court early in December 1643, when Hamilton and Lanerick came post to Oxford, says Sir Philip Warwick, to tell a fair though lamentable tale. In the private correspondence of the period, may be traced the universal understanding that Hamilton had deceived the King. "We hear," writes Baillie from London, "of Hamilton's coming to Oxford, and of the King's sadness after his assurance of our nation's moving truly,* the contrary whereof he

* *i. e.* Being assured that the Scots were actually on their march. The miserable defence, for the invasion of England by the Scots in 1643,

was ever made to believe." Upon the 10th of December, Arthur Trevor writes to the Marquis of Ormonde, that "the alarm of the Scots (invasion) heightens, and I do believe more of it than I did yesterday, being satisfied that the Marquis of Hamilton—a *constant apparition* before the rising of that people, and their swelling over the banks of Tweed—is come to Newcastle." It was upon the 16th of December that the bird of ill omen arrived at Oxford. The loyal noblemen at Court had unanimously declared, knowing his witchery over the King, that nothing could be done to retrieve his Majesty's affairs if the Duke were suffered to be of their Councils, or taken into favour. Montrose, seeing the reluctance of his Majesty to part with Hamilton, begged permission to retire abroad, if the last hope of saving

is, that the success of the monarchical party there would enable the King to recover his prerogatives in Scotland,—the argument, at best, of a robber, who, having extorted a purse under promise of sparing the life of his victim, immediately cuts his throat to prevent retribution. There is a secret letter from Baillie to Wariston, dated from London, December 28, 1643, which proves that the former (considered the most loyal and conscientious of his party) looked to no less than a complete overthrow of the constitution of England in Church and State. He urges Wariston to send a committee from Scotland, for,—"it is thought by all our friends, that if a *well-chosen* committee were here, they would get the guiding of all the affairs both of the State and Church." The Committee he presses for is Lord Maitland, Wariston himself, and some of the most fanatical of the clergy, by which he thinks "the Church and State of England is to receive a *new frame*." He concludes, "burn this my free letter, except you will keep it, and *say it is burnt*." Baillie's morality sat very loosely on him. He tells, with affectionate commiseration of the delinquent, how "Mr James Houston, a *pious and very zealous* young man, minister at Glasford, in the *time of his trials*, and *after his admission*, had fallen in fornication." Such was Baillie in politics and morals; take a specimen of his religion:—"I hope God will take order with that wicked faction, as insolently wicked as ever,"—meaning Montrose and the loyalists at Oxford. He speaks of the Almighty as familiarly, and as immediately in connection with every movement of the rebels, as if he meant General Leslie.

the Throne was to be entrusted to those who had so often betrayed it. We could almost believe it to have been love and anxiety for Charles, that Montrose had figuratively clothed in those verses to an imaginary fair-one :

But if by fraud, or by consent,
Thy heart to ruine come,
I'll sound no trumpet as I wont,
Nor march by tuck of drum;
But hold my arms, like ensigns, up,
Thy falsehood to deplore,
And bitterly will sigh and weep,
And never love thee more.

I'll do with thee, as Nero did
When Rome was set on fire,
Not only all relief forbid,
But to a hill retire,
And scorn to shed a tear to see
Thy spirit grown so poor,
But smiling sing, until I die,
I'll never love thee more.

Charles himself must have been inwardly satisfied that the hero of the Incident was not the victim of slander, when, with a heavy heart, he ordered the Duke of Hamilton to be detained a prisoner in his own chambers, in Oxford, and forbade Lanerick from appearing at Court, though he was permitted the freedom of the town. But the King had not taken this step without such consideration of the matter as must have satisfied every upright man in England of its absolute necessity. He appointed a committee, composed of the highest functionaries of the kingdom, to take, for his Majesty's private and merciful consideration, the depositions upon oath, and in writing, of every Scotch nobleman who had advised the disgrace of Hamilton, as to what they had to allege against him. These examinations were sub-

mitted to the King, and, says Clarendon, "there appeared too much cause to conclude that the Duke had not behaved himself with that loyalty he ought to have done." Some noblemen, of whom the Earl of Kinnoul was the most forward, deponed to the treacherous conduct of Hamilton in his recent government of Scotland. But the depositions of Montrose, Nithisdale, Aboyne, and Ogilvy, unquestionably the highest minded noblemen in Scotland, and the least likely to compromise their honour even by the bare assertion of what they did not believe, embraced the most comprehensive and serious charges against the Duke. These noblemen, whom Baillie terms the "good quaternion," pledged themselves, without the slightest hesitation, to make good the charges they signed. There was no absurdities, confusion, or contradiction in this evidence, as in the covenanting processes in Scotland. Nor were there any concealments from the party accused. From Montrose, the informations, upon which his caricature of a libel had been framed, were obstinately and constantly withheld. But on the first night of Hamilton's restraint, the excellent Secretary Nicholas, (who had been one of the committee of investigation, along with the Lord Keeper, the Master of the Rolls, and the Chancellor of Exchequer,) was sent to him by his gracious master, not only with assurances of ample justice, but with a full copy of the depositions which had been emitted against him.

However the deliberate information of Montrose might influence and excuse the King in the measures he now adopted against Hamilton, still, we are positively assured by Clarendon, it was not that which determined his Majesty. The principal charges, by which Montrose and the rest meant simply to justify their anxiety

to exclude him from the King's councils at this critical period, referred to Hamilton's secret connections with the Covenanters prior to the act of oblivion in 1641. That act Charles was willing to extend even to the very peculiar case of his favourite. But there were two circumstances, in the conduct of both brothers, which no plausibility could evade, and which was proved to the King by evidence not to be redargued. Kinnoul, Roxburgh, and others, unanimously declared they were induced to join the late Convention in Scotland, by having been made to believe that such was the wish of the King, whose letter had been garbled to sustain that belief. Lanerick himself had applied the privy seal to the proclamation which called together the very army now on its march against England. These were the facts which determined Charles at this time to place the Duke under restraint, and to exclude from Court his Secretary of State for Scotland,—and not the informations of Montrose, (to which alone Hamilton's fall is generally attributed,) although the Duke was furnished with a full copy of all the charges. *

* Modern historians who characterize Montrose as being actuated at this period at best by a thoughtless and rash spirit of enterprize, while Hamilton merely erred on the side of prudence, and can be charged with nothing worse than a timid policy, are generally satisfied with appealing to Burnet's Memoirs. Malcolm Laing refers to no other authority for the following sentence, (Hist. Vol. i. p. 235,) which is all the history Mr Laing affords of the incident in question :—"The Marquis of Hamilton was arrested on his return to Court, and accused by Montrose of an uniform and treacherous connivance with the Covenanters to promote his ambitious pretensions to the crown. The charge was *obviously* false and malicious; for a timid or prudent moderation was his only crime." Thus is it constantly assumed that Montrose was the sole accuser, whereas he was only the boldest and most unflinching. The most serious informations against Hamilton were signed at least by Ogilvy, Aboyne, and Nithisdale, on their own responsibility, as well as by Montrose. Lords Crawford and Reay were also accusers. Bishop Burnet's object

The modern criticism of Montrose, namely, that at the crisis in question, he was rather actuated by rival-

was to make a case for Hamilton, instead of honestly proving one, and when this is detected, the fact is severe against the subject of his eulogy. The following (one of many instances that might be selected) will serve for illustration.

In reference to the accusations against the Duke, signed by Montrose and the rest, Bishop Burnet says,—" I shall here premise what I copied out of an original letter of one of the most zealous Covenanters (who was a very considerable man among them, and one of the junto,) to his correspondent, by which the reader may judge what he is to think of the truth of matter of fact alleged in the charge. *I have seen the charge against the Duke, and though he has been a great enemy to our cause and work, I cannot but pity him, since he suffers from their hands whom he has been serving:* and after that he adds, *He is in no hazard if he get justice, for the accusation is false, and can never be proved.* This will discover both what the secret thoughts of the Covenanters were of the Duke, and how false the charge was in matter of fact."—*Memoirs*, p. 252.

Here Burnet not only cunningly conceals that the letter to which he alludes was from *Robert Baillie*, but he garbles and gives a false impression of the real state of Baillie's sentiments as to Hamilton. Baillie's correspondence, when fully considered, affords the strongest evidence that Hamilton was a treacherous double-dealer, and the particular passage, when fairly quoted, tends to confirm the charges against the Duke. Baillie says, " The good quaternion, Montrose, Nithisdale, Aboyne, and Ogilvy, had subscribed his (Hamilton's) accusation. * * * Many here think him a gone man; not so much for the fury of his accusers, as the desperate malice of the Queen against him, and her fears, if he were freed, of his power with the King. The matters laid to his charge will never be proven; and he is in no hazard if he might have justice; but he has been *foolish in his wisdom.* Meikle Jo. would have been in to visit him, as he said, to give him his coat, as the greater fool than he *for coming hither.* However, he has, in my mind, done our nation and cause great wrong; yet since all his suffering is for the court's hatred of our cause and nation, I think all Scots hearts must pity him, and pray for him, and make either for a speedy rescue of him, if living, or a severe revenge of him, if dead." In as much as Hamilton went not avowedly and constantly with the Covenanters, but only played into their hands, and still saved himself with the King, Baillie considers he *wronged* the cause. But manifestly he regards the Duke as a most important friend of the faction. Then Burnet produces letters from the Queen, full of affection for, and trust in Hamilton, until his signal failure. The fact of her indignation, when the bubble burst, is evidence that she too was persuaded that Hamilton had deceived her. Burnet's sly quotation from Baillie *incognito* is scarcely honest.

ry of Hamilton, and hatred of Argyle, than love for his King and country, and that, moreover, he took "no prudent method to carry into effect the counsel he gave," is certainly crude and unjust. It would have been well for the fabric of Church and State, had all the loyal noblemen who surrounded Charles at Oxford possessed precisely the characteristics of Montrose. It was not his object to monopolize the royal councils, or create a faction subservient to himself. The exclusion of Hamilton from those councils, he considered, in common with every man of sound judgment in the kingdom, absolutely essential to the redemption of the King's affairs. But he cared not with whom he were now joined, could he only be assured of their loyalty and truth. He well knew that the bane of the King's councils had ever been the trimming or the treacherous dispositions of seeming friends; and he was anxious at this moment to make the Scotch courtiers submit themselves to some test, or tie of uncompromising fidelity to the Monarch, whose throne and person were now so greatly endangered. In particular, and with good cause, he suspected William Murray of the bed-chamber, the creature of Hamilton, though still possessing the confidence of Charles. Traquair, too, was not unreasonably doubted, considering his recent intimacy with the Duke; and although we may believe Lord Napier's characteristic of him,—"Traquair who is one, if he were never so ill otherways, that loves the King,"—the policy of that nobleman, which was ever the hopeless attempt to steer a middle course "in so dangerous and ticklish times," had become more and more undecided, and chary of confederating with Montrose, in consequence of the persecution against himself, which he says was "singular and without example." With a view, then, to

test the treacherous, and fix the wavering, Montrose adopted a measure which affords another proof that his character has been misunderstood by those who pourtray him as exercising no solidity of judgment at this hopeless crisis, and destitute of every characteristic but the rash impetuosity of a military adventurer, and the malicious rivalry of a political partisan. He drew up a declaration, and bond of union, the terms of which, when compared with the history of those times, will be found consistent with every sentiment of exalted principle, and sound sense, and will triumphantly endure a parallel with the political ravings of Baillie, who, from considering Montrose as "that generous and noble youth," now execrated him as the Devil's vicegerent upon earth. This bond was to be signed by all the Scotchmen then at Court, and the propriety of the measure may be gathered from Baillie's excited condemnation of it.* He writes to Spang, on the 1st of January 1644, that "the fools at Oxford are now beginning to fear us, and yet have no grace to do any thing right. I hope God will take order with that wicked faction, as insolently wicked as ever." In his information to Scotland dated two days later, he says,—"Montrose has contrived a wicked band and oath, against all who have taken the Covenant for the assistance of England, as traitors, which, we hear, Kinnoul, Traquair, and others,

* It appears by his letters that Baillie was not a little conceited at the important part the fanatical and factious clergy of Scotland now played in London. At the time of Strafford's trial, Baillie's whole correspondence is engrossed with it. Now Laud was about to suffer; but our chronicler thus dismisses the subject, upon which his faction no longer depended: "Canterbury every week is before the Lords for his trial; but we have so much to do, and he is a person now so contemptible, that we take no notice of his process." And yet what was Baillie but a contemptible tool, insanely paving the way for the Independents, whom he fancied his faction was resisting.

have refused with disdain. However, you will look to yourselves, and know well whom you trust. Yet we hope in God that our army in England shall break the neck of all these wicked designs."

The principles of Montrose, religious, moral, and political, were indeed very different from that of the reverend chronicler of the Covenant, and the bond in question must be allowed to speak for itself.

### *Montrose's bond at Oxford*, 1643-4.

"We, his Majesty's subjects of the Scottish nation, whose names are under-written, having a right and faithful sense of the undeserved sufferings of our gracious Sovereign, and of the sad condition at present of all his Majesty's dominions, through the disloyalty and rebellion of a traitorous and most ungrateful faction in both kingdoms; and being, as becomes us, most particularly and most deeply afflicted that any of our nation should have had, and still have, so great a hand in inducing and continuing those public calamities; as (also) that for the treacherous and perfidious practices of some, our whole nation is in danger of suffering the detestable imputation of partaking in this odious rebellion,—which misunderstanding is principally occasioned by the power which those unnatural and disloyal persons have gotten, of countenancing their most treasonable actions with the forms and glosses of public authority, —we being desirous not only to vindicate ourselves, but, as far as in us lies, our nation, from that infamy which some of our traitorous countrymen have drawn upon themselves, and would gladly involve the whole in their crime, have thought fit to express, in this solemn declaration, our hatred and detestation of the rebellion in

both kingdoms, and of the present invasion of this of England, by those of our nation; and also our judgment of the late pretended Convention, the source and fountain of these treasons and impieties. And we do hereby profess and declare, that we esteem the said pretended Convention to be a presumptuous, illegal, and traitorous meeting, as being designed to excite sedition and rebellion in that kingdom, and a most unjust invasion of this. And as we do utterly disclaim and abhor the same, so do we in like manner all committees, general or particular, flowing from the same, and all acts, ordinances, and decrees made and given therein, and particularly that traitorous and damnable Covenant taken and imposed by the rebels of both kingdoms, which we heartily and unfeignedly detest, and shall never enter into by force, persuasion, or any respect whatsoever, as being a most impious imposition upon men's consciences, to engage them, under false pretence of religion, in treason and rebellion against their Sovereign. And we do further renounce and detest any authority, either of the convention or Parliament, as to the levying of arms, upon any colour whatsoever, without his Majesty's consent. And we do sincerely profess, that we do esteem our countrymen's present taking of arms, and their invading this realm of England, to be an act of high treason and rebellion, and hold ourselves obliged by allegiance, and by the act of pacification, to oppose and withstand the same. Likeas we promise upon our honour, every one of us faithfully to employ our uttermost power and abilities, both with lives and fortunes, to suppress the said rebels now in arms against his Majesty, and his crown of England. In which just cause we do make the like engagement firmly and constantly to adhere to one another, and to all his Ma-

jesty's faithful subjects that shall join with us in that endeavour, and in this declaration of our fidelity."*

Such are all the particulars, of Montrose having supplanted Hamilton that can now be gathered. But it was the voice not of Montrose alone, but of the most honourable of the Scottish nobility, that accused the favourite of having brought on the present crisis, by that meanest of political iniquities, selfish double-dealing. And powerfully as the tenacious heart of Charles yet pleaded for his evil genius, the internal conviction, that Hamilton had been " very active in his own preservation," at length so far conquered his affection as to induce him to place his minion, for a time at least, where he could play no double game. At the crisis of the Incident, Hamilton knew well the charges against himself harboured by Montrose and others. All open investigation of such charges he then eschewed, and made common cause with Argyle in smothering the determined voice of constitutional loyalty, by means the most tyrannical and illegal. At this moment, when, in consequence mainly of Hamilton's own policy, the power of administering justice was wrested from the hands of the King, and Scotland was in a state which rendered a judicial trial of his

* Ormonde papers, published by Carte, from the originals. This is obviously Montrose's declaration at Oxford, mentioned by Baillie, and Wishart. The latter says that the two who were most backward to sign it were Traquair and William Murray, and he accuses Traquair throughout of being equally treacherous as Murray to the King, and the royal cause. But Traquair's conduct is susceptible of a much more favourable interpretation than Murray's. The names of both appear at the above declaration, which is also signed by the Earls of Montrose, Kinnoul, Forth, Crawford, Abercorn, and Nithisdale, Lords Ogilvy, Aboyne, and Reay, Sir Robert Spotiswood, Sir Thomas Ogilvy, and a few other gentlemen then at Court.

minister's conduct there totally impracticable, the Duke (according to Baillie and Bishop Burnet) became clamorous for a trial. The King himself, as Burnet admits, felt the utmost anxiety to afford every opportunity for the lost favourite to clear himself. But, says Clarendon, as "in many respects it was not a season to proceed judicially against him, it was thought enough for the present to prevent his doing further mischief, by putting him under a secure restraint; and so he was sent in custody to the castle at Bristol, and from thence to Exeter, and so to the castle at Pendennis in Cornwall, where we shall at the present leave him."*

* Lanerick fled from his arrest at Oxford, and his conduct tends strongly to confirm the accusations against the brothers. He proceeded instantly to the Parliament of London, and made common cause with the Scotch faction against the King. Baillie writes to Scotland, —"Lanerick, the night before he was to be sent to Ludlow Castle, in Wales, came away to Windsor as James Cunningham Robertland's brother's groom. When he comes to Scotland *he will tell many tales.* Since he came here (London) *he has had my chamber and bed.*" Surely this indicates a good understanding previously betwixt the covenanting faction and the Hamiltons. We learn from Bishop Guthrie the nature of the tales Lanerick told in Scotland. "The Earl of Lanerick being lately come down from the Commissioners at London, appeared, and gave such evidences of his deep sorrow for adhering to the King so long, with such malicious reflections upon his sacred Majesty, that I forbear to express them, as made his conversion to be unfeigned, and so was received to the Covenant, and acted afterwards so vigorously in the cause, that ere long he was preferred to be a ruling elder." Lanerick, be it remembered, is invariably distinguished as honest and loyal compared with the Duke.

## CHAPTER IX.

HOW THE KING HONOURED MONTROSE WITH A COMMISSION AND A MARQUISATE, HOW THE KIRK HONOURED HIM WITH EXCOMMUNICATION, AND HOW HE RAISED THE ROYAL STANDARD IN SCOTLAND.

IT was in the first month of spring, in the year 1644, that Montrose obtained the royal authority for his devoted adventure against the triumphant career of the Presbyterian dictatorship, eating its way like a cancer to the heart of the monarchy. With a foresight and moderation belying the theories of his thoughtlessness, and boundless ambition, he declined the command in chief, and preferred to place himself under the orders of his Majesty's nephew. Accordingly his commission, dated at Oxford on the 1st day of February 1644, and still preserved in the Montrose charter-chest, bears that he be Lieutenant-General of all his Majesty's forces, raised or to be raised in Scotland, or brought thither from England or elsewhere, that he act under Prince Maurice, who is styled Lieutenant-Gov rnor and Captain-General of Scotland, and receive his orders from the Prince, if present in Scotland, or from his Majesty, but with all the privileges of the commission of Prince Maurice in absence of the latter.

The principal difficulty, which now presented itself to Montrose, was that of reaching in safety the district of Scotland where he hoped to resuscitate and reunite the still existing, though crushed and scattered loyalty of his country. But the King of England was totally unable at this time to bestow upon his most devoted Ge-

neral, in the most vital expedition, even a single regiment or troop, to protect his person across the invaded borders. His commission and his sword were the materials in possession of Montrose, when he pledged himself to do or die. But already had the Earl of Antrim, impelled by the resistless enthusiasm of our hero, and further encouraged by a marquisate from Charles, taken his departure to perform his pledge of descending from the north of Ireland, upon the country of Argyle, with ten thousand of the wild men of Ulster, as early as possible in the month of April. In that month, accordingly, Montrose was on the banks of the Annan in Scotland, with a train of about two hundred horse, including the noblemen and gentlemen of his own party, and with an additional force not exceeding eight hundred foot, and three troops of cavalry, belonging to the militia of the northern counties of England, which he had obtained by his personal entreaties from the Marquis of Newcastle, who with difficulty was prevailed upon to weaken his own forces by affording even this aid to Montrose. But it proved of little avail. Corrupted by Sir Richard Graham, a renegado courtier whose influence prevailed in the north of England, most of the Cumberland and Westmoreland militia very soon left Montrose to his fate, who, under all these disadvantages, contrived to take possession of the town of Dumfries. There, about the middle of April 1644, he endeavoured to raise the royal standard, supported by the Earls of Crawford, Nithisdale, Traquair, Kinnoul, Carnwath, the Lords Aboyne, Ogilvy, Herries, and a few other loyalists of distinction.

Even at this period, when the Covenant, with its monstrous addition of the Solemn League, appeared to be carrying all before it, " the grand national move-

ment" was less than ever a unanimous or spontaneous impulse throughout Scotland. The burghs for the most part had been drilled, by the Committee of Estates and the clergy, into hopeless disloyalty, and even the good town of Aberdeen was now, thanks to our hero's mistaken zeal, almost entirely under the yoke of the faction, from contest with which Huntly himself appeared to shrink more and more, as troubles and family misfortunes depressed his gallant spirit, while that of his early companion, and once covenanting opponent, Montrose, rushed to its meteor career of loyalty and honour. The Western Highlands, where the sway of Mac Cailinmor, surrounded by the subordinate rulers of the clan Diarmed, was omnipotent, were of course sufficiently subservient to the fanatical virulence and hypocrisy of the Cause. The clerical cancer had also eaten deeply into the good sense and wholesome principles of the western shires of Galloway, Carrick, Kyle, Cunningham, Renfrew, and Clydesdale. As for the land of Fife, it had ever been half-crazy with democracy and cant. The southern borders were only redeemed by the names of the loyal Earls of Nithisdale and Hartfell.* In the north, the Forbeses and Frazers, with Gordon Earl of Sutherland, were still a formidable exception to the loyalty of the Huntly Gordons, (and other gallant barons there,) and in their covenanting pride "cropped the causey" of Aberdeen, to the infinite distaste of its ever memorable historian. But there were strongholds of loyalty, in the north of Scotland, destined to add the name of Montrose to their many undying historical

* This was James Lord Johnston of Lochwood, created Earl of Hartfell in 1643, to whom Archibald Johnston wrote in former years, desiring him to take example by Montrose. See Vol. i. p. 300. He was now indeed following Montrose, but in a better cause.

and romantic associations. The districts of Athol, Mar, Badenoch, Lochaber, Kintail, Strath-don, and Strath-spey, with most of the Isles, obtained the proud distinction of *malignant*, which, so applied, indicates the purest loyalty and the brightest honour abhorrent of the arts of Presbyterian democracy. The very heart of Scotland, too, was at least comparatively sound. In the fertile shires of the Lothians, Angus, Mearns, Perth, and Stirling, lay extensive baronies of Montrose himself, Lord Napier, Sir George Stirling of Keir, and other loyalists, whose influence greatly redeemed those districts from the disloyalty of the capital, and the other important towns they comprehended. To this rich centre of Scotland, accordingly, Montrose would instantly have penetrated, could he but have mustered a sufficient force to cut his way from the borders.

At this time, "the Keir"* was the scene of many an

* The ancient and extensive barony of Keir (still in possession of the same family) adjoined the estates of Lord Napier in Menteith, and for a long period there had been a close alliance betwixt the families. Sir George Stirling's grandfather, Sir James, was joint Justice Depute with Sir Archibald Napier of Merchiston, the father of the great Napier, and grandfather of Lord Napier, whose mother was the daughter of this Sir James Stirling, and aunt of Sir George. Consequently Lord Napier, and Sir George Stirling, were cousins german. Moreover, Sir George's lady was the daughter of Lord Napier and Montrose's sister. Some of the few letters of the great Napier's extant are dated from his father-in-law's house of the Keir, which was finely situated for astronomical purposes. It is otherwise celebrated in history and song. Shortly before the battle of Sauchieburn, James IV., then Prince of Scotland, was routed by his father's forces near Stirling, and took refuge in the Keir. He was driven out, and the place burnt to the ground by his pursuers. When he gained the throne, he granted new charters of all the lands to Sir William Keir, whose writs had been destroyed, and also L. 100 to "Schir Wilzeam of Stirling, to the bigging of his place."—*Treasurer's Accounts*, 1488. *Mag. Sig.* xii. 64. After the battle of Langside, the privy-council of the Regent issued letters, charging certain barons, who had held their strongholds for the Queen, to deliver them up

anxious consultation amongst Montrose's relatives and dearest friends, who there awaited, with breathless expectation, tidings of the result of his warlike counsel at Oxford, and it might be his presence with a loyal army at "the bulwark of the north," the neighbouring town and castle of Stirling. Montrose himself, when on the bòrders, received an affecting intimation of their longing for the re-union, in shape of a "well known token" sent him by his favourite niece, Margaret Napier, the Lady of Keir. For the family party of Plotters, over which the venerable Lord Napier, now about seventy years of age, still presided with wonderful vigour both of body and mind, included three ladies, who took the deepest interest in all that concerned the fate of Charles and Montrose. These were Keir's Lady, and her younger sister Lilias Napier, who had not completed her eighteenth year, and though last not least the Heroine of the Heart, Lady Elizabeth Erskine, whose husband, the young Master of Napier, was burning to join his uncle, though restrained at this time by the vindictive jealousy with which the Committee of Estates condescended to watch this interesting group. To the individuals of it above named we must add five gallant youths, who became particularly distinguished in the approaching ill-fated struggle to save the Throne. We have elsewhere afforded some anecdotes of William Graham, seventh

to the bearers, within six hours, under pain of treason; and among others, "James Striueling of Keir, the house and fortalice of Keir. The said James Striuevling of Keir, the tour and fortalice of Cadder."—*Privy-Council Record.* Sir Walter Scott thus celebrates the Keir in the Lady of the Lake.

> Blair Drummond sees the hoofs strike fire,
> They sweep like breeze through Ochtertyre,
> They mark, just glance and disappear,
> The lofty brow of ancient Keir.

Earl of Menteith, afterwards Earl of Airth, that kinsman of Lord Napier's whom he brought to such shame before the Privy-Council of Scotland.* During the succeeding troubles the Earl had lived in retirement, taking as little share as possible in the progress of the Rebellion. But his eldest son, the Lord Kilpont, now held out the brightest promise of illustrating what his father had unfortunately boasted of as the "reddest blood in Scotland." All the unpleasant collisions of former years with the Earl of Menteith, might well have faded from the mind of Lord Napier amid the many agitations it had suffered since, and certainly they did not interfere with his affection for this young nobleman, who became devotedly attached to Montrose until the tie was severed by the red hand of Ardvoirlich.† The next we must mention of the family party, so intently watching the motions of Montrose, is David Drummond, the Master of Maderty, a most accomplished youth of not more than one and twenty,‡ now married to his second wife, Lady Beatrix Graham, the sister of Montrose, and aunt to the Master of Napier. Young Maderty's own sister was married to another important member of the group in question, namely, Montrose's fond and faithful adherent

* See Introductory chapter, pp. 54–58.

† It is scarcely necessary to mention, that to the cruel fate of the young Earl of Menteith we are indebted for the Legend of Montrose, which Sir Walter Scott himself tells us, "was written chiefly with a view to place before the reader, the melancholy fate of John Lord Kilpont, eldest son of William Earl of Airth and Menteith, and the singular circumstances attending the birth and history of James Stewart of Ardvoirlich, by whose hand the unfortunate nobleman fell."—*Introduction.*

‡ John, second Lord Maderty, (ancestor of the Viscounts of Strathallan,) was married to Helen Leslie, by contract, dated 30th April 1622. Their eldest son David, above-mentioned, is called by Wishart, "*virum nobilem et omni virtutum genere cumulatissimum.*"

and relative, Patrick Graham of Inchbrakie, of whom, to adopt the words of Dr Wishart, we shall often have occasion to make mention and never without honour. To these were added a nephew of Lord Napier's, John Drummond, younger of Balloch, (who greatly distinguished himself in the service of Montrose, and shared with him in exile, as he did in honour,)* and John Lord Erskine, who shed no more tears in honour of the Covenant. Such were the confidential relatives of Montrose, all of them possessing extensive interests either in the Lothians or in the more romantic districts of the Lennox and Menteith, who now wished him to come and take possession of the town and castle of Stirling, (of which the Erskines of Mar were hereditary Keepers,) and even contrived to communicate with him on the borders, not through the medium of Lieutenant-Colonel Walter Stewart, but in consequence of consultation with another soldier of fortune, who accidentally came in contact with the family party of Plotters in the manner we proceed to narrate.

Lord Sinclair, who was so active for the Committee of Estates in the discreditable employment of breaking open Montrose's private repositories, had accepted of the command of a regiment in the army sent to Ireland in 1642, which he accompanied there, but returned in the following year, leaving his regiment in command of its Lieutenant-Colonel, his own brother. Lord Sinclair's Major, also left with the regiment in Ireland, was a perfect specimen of the subordinate mercenary Scotch officer characteristic of the times; not indeed so well qualified, or so fortunate, as to rise like the Leslies to a peerage, but endued with all the capacities

* His mother, Agnes Napier, who married George Drummond of Balloch in 1620, was the fifth daughter of the Inventor of Logarithms.

requisite for the sordid ambition of turning the individual sword to account of the pocket of him who wielded it. This worthy, according to his own history of himself, which he left in manuscript, obtained a learned education at a Scotch university, and moreover, though undeservedly as he says, the title of Master of Arts. In his youth he entered, with considerable ardour and success, the formidable fields of humane letters, history, philosophy, and religious controversy, opened to him by that education. But his peculiar bent was the practice no less than the theory of arms, to which he very soon betook himself, and accordingly went abroad to be an actor in those wars, which, to use his own words, "at that time made so much noise over all the world, and were managed against the Roman Emperor, and the Catholic league in Germany, under the auspicious conduct of the thrice famous Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden." In that renowned service, he went through, and always with an eye to the main chance, no small proportion of battles and sieges, involving, besides his share of immortal glory with the greatest commanders of the age, such severities of military privations and discipline, as caused the learned mercenary to exclaim, *dulce bellum inexpertis.** He was with Banier and Alexander Leslie,—for says he, "old Leslie is made our Felt Marshal, Kniphausen being killed,"—when victorious at Woodstock, over the imperial army under the Duke of Saxe, and was also the companion in arms of David Leslie, who afterwards reaped his most imperishable laurel in the surprise of Montrose at Philiphaugh. Into his disquisitions on the art of war as well as his general conversation, he carried much of his Scotch pedantry, combined, however, with no slight practi-

* *i. e.* War is all very well till you know it.

cal skill and experience, which rendered him exceedingly critical, and somewhat contemptuous of the military operations of others whom he judged inferior. If this be not Ritt-master Dugald Dalgetty of Drumthwacket, it is something very like him in the person of Major James Turner, who eventually rose to considerable distinction, and the honour of knighthood, in the reign of Charles II.

The mere accidents of war, to which this character had entirely abandoned himself, again cast him on his native shores, in search of military service, when his old commander Leslie had commenced his covenanting career, and was occupying Newcastle with the Scotch army in 1640. Turner had small chance of employment there, having quarrelled in Germany with Leslie's brother, whom, in his prolix and peculiar manner, he had accused of eleven points of treason, but he adds, "the controversy between him and me was decided by a cannon bullet, which took away his head." The Earl of Rothes, however, made interest for him with the General at Newcastle, and Turner obtained a majority in the covenanting army, in which he served till the treaty of Rippon. During all this period, "I did not (he says) take the national Covenant, not because I refused to do so, for I would have made no bones to take, swear and sign it, and observe it too,—for I had then a principle, having not yet studied a better one, that I wronged not my conscience in doing any thing I was commanded to do by those whom I served,—but the truth is, it was never offered to me, every one thinking it was impossible I could get into any charge unless I had taken the Covenant either in Scotland or England."

It was early in the year 1644 that Turner came over from Ireland, where he had been acting as Lord Sinclair's

Major, to report upon the distressed and nearly mutinous state of the Scotch regiments there. Sinclair himself was then with the invading army before Newcastle, where his doughty Major came to seek him, and amused himself for a while aiding and criticising the military operations of Argyle, old Leven, Dear Sandie, and some others with whom he had borne arms abroad, and whom he conceives to have become, under the influence of the Covenant and Mac Cailinmor, the veriest old women that ever brought discredit on the art military. Meanwhile Sinclair's regiment, followed by some others, arrived of their own accord at Port Patrick, and in such a ragged and disaffected condition as very much to alarm the Committee of Estates, who immediately ordered Lord Sinclair and the Major to hasten to meet their regiment and keep it well affected to the cause. They were subsequently marched to Stirling, and Lord Lothian's regiment to Perth, in order to be a check upon the motions of Huntly, who was making a great bustle in the north, apparently with the view of combining forces with Montrose, at this time hovering on the borders. But Major James Turner was very much disgusted with the ungrateful proceedings of his countrymen against the King, in their new Presbyterian crusade, and, moreover, was beginning to be somewhat ashamed of the maxim, " that so we serve our master honestly, it is no matter what master we serve," a maxim which, he says, he had hitherto swallowed without chewing, like most military men in Germany. Now, however, he tells us, " I looked a little more narrowly into the justice of the cause wherein I served, than formerly I used to do, and found I had done well enough in my engagement against the bloody rebels in Ireland ; but the new Solemn League and Covenant, to which the Committee of Estates required an absolute

submission, summoned all my thoughts to a serious consultation, the result whereof was, that it was nothing but a treacherous and disloyal combination against lawful authority. Some Captains of my Lord Lothian's, (who were well enough principled, and had got good information of the designs of the prime Covenanters from the late Lord Chancellor, Earl of Glencairn,) and I communicated our thoughts one to another, and then I broke the matter first to my Lieutenant-Colonel, and then to my Lord Sinclair. All of us thought it our duty to do the King all the service we could against his ungracious subjects, and therefore resolved not to take the Covenant, but to join with the Marquis of Montrose, who had the King's commission."

This happened about the middle of April, when Montrose had reached Dumfries, where he found it impossible either to fortify himself, or make head against the superior covenanting forces, now rapidly collecting to oppose him. Consequently he was compelled to fall back upon Carlisle, to the great disappointment of his anxious friends in Stirling, and the disapprobation of the critical Ritt-master Turner, whose narrative of the event it would be injustice to him to give in other words than his own.

"Meanwhile," he says, "my Lieutenant-Colonel and I had our several consultations with my Lord Erskine, my Lord Napier, the Master of Napier, the Master of Maderty, and Laird of Keir, all of them very loyal persons, with whom we concluded it was fit to send two, one from them and another from us, to Montrose, who was then in the border, to invite him to come to Stirling, where he should find castle, town, and regiment at his devotion, and St Johnston [Perth] likewise. And least he might think we meant not honest-

ly, in regard there had been no good understanding between him and my Lord Sinclair formerly, his niece, the Lady Keir, sent him a well known token with Hary Stewart, who was the man we sent, and this he received. The messenger they sent was young Balloch, Drummond, then very loyal whatever he was afterwards. I believe he got not to him. But Montrose, having a little too soon entered Scotland, and met with a ruffle near Dumfries, and upon it retired to England, it seems he thought it not safe, with so inconsiderable troops, to hazard so far as to Stirling, perhaps not giving full trust to our promises; and chiefly because the Committee had appointed a second levy, which then was far advanced, under the command of the Earl of Calendar who (with the deepest oaths, even wishing the supper of our Lord to turn to his damnation, which he was to take next Sunday, if ever he should engage under these, or with these Covenanters,) had persuaded me in his own house of Calendar, and upon a Lord's day too, that he would faithfully serve the King;—I say, by Montrose's neglect, and Calendar's perfidy, was lost the fairest occasion that could be wished to do the King service. For if that levy had been suppressed, as very soon it should, and Montrose have come to Stirling, and joined with our two regiments, as easily he might, he would, with the assistance of Huntly in the north, and those Irish who soon after came over from Antrim, have reduced Scotland without bloodshed to their duty and obedience, or else the Scots army had been forced to have left England, and marched home to oppose us; upon whose retreat it was more than probable most of England would have embraced the King's interest, the reputation of the Scots army at that time keeping up the English Parliament's interest. But the inauspi-

cious fate, and disastrous destiny of the incomparably good King, would not have it to be so."*

It is a new criticism of the career of Montrose, that, from over-caution and tardy action, he neglected to strike a decisive blow for the King, or seize the golden opportunity of fighting, " as easily he might" ! And surely the gallant Ritt-master reasons the matter somewhat hastily and incoherently, for he says that Montrose had entered Scotland *too soon*, and had not sufficient troops wherewith to meet the new levies of the Covenanters, which were now *far advanced*. It was certainly not Montrose's neglect, however it might have been the perfidy of Calendar and others, that now compelled him to retreat to Carlisle. Just as Calendar's army was on the eve of marching against him, he had to encounter at Dumfries a covenanting force superior to his own, led on by the Sheriff of Teviotdale, and before whom the disaffected militia of the north of England, Montrose's principal force, fled in dismay or treachery. He moreover obtained the tidings that Calendar, with whom he had so recently been in confidential consultation upon the subject of persuading the King to vigorous measures,† had accepted, almost without the expression of a scruple, the command of the new army, directed, at the instigation of Argyle, (who had returned to Scotland, and was taking active measures to crush both Montrose and Huntly,) against the loyalists on the borders. This first check must have been a bitter moment to Montrose, for there reached him at the same time the well known token

* Turner's Memoirs. Printed from the Original Manuscript for the Bannatyne Club.

† Calendar was obviously all along the weak, if not the dishonest, tool of Argyle and Hamilton.

from his niece, and the invitation from his anxious friends to take possession of Stirling. But it found him deserted by his miserable fraction of English troops, * and incumbered by a train of noblemen, for the most part comparatively timid and wavering, brought thus far by his heroic ardour, but whose heart and constancy entirely depended upon his own immediate success. Then the tidings that, while Calendar was so false, the covenanting nobleman, who had rifled Montrose's secret repositories to discover his loyal correspondence, was now ready to aid him, with his covenanting regiment, to secure Stirling for the King, might well raise his doubts and suspicions, despite the token from his niece. And at that anxious and disastrous moment we can easily suppose his ardent spirit to have expressed its agony in the sentiment,—

> Then break afflicted heart, and live not in these days,
> When all prove merchants of their faith, none trusts what other says.

It was on the 25th of April, that the faithless and ungrateful Earl of Calendar mustered his covenanting army at Douglas, about five thousand strong, with which he forthwith marched to take possession of Dumfries.

* Dr Wishart says that the English militia mutinied and left Montrose whenever he reached the river Annan, about the 13th of April, and that he entered Dumfries with the few that adhered to him. Guthrie's account is, that when Montrose came in contact with the Covenanters of Teviotdale, the English soldiers ran away. Probably the fact is, that some fled then, and others deserted before. All accounts agree in imputing their disaffection to the influence of Sir Richard Graham. The Earl of Nithisdale, in a letter to Antrim, dated from Carlisle, May 2, 1643, speaks of the treacherous disloyalty of "good Sir Richard Graham, and a number of round heads in these parts," and adds, that Sir Richard is the head of the puritans of this country, "as in acquittal to your Lady for raising him out of the dunghill."—See Sir Richard mentioned before, Vol. i. p. 459. Antrim's Countess was the widow of the favourite Buckingham.

Lord Sinclair's regiment, now suspected by the Committee of Estates, was ordered to quit Stirling, and follow Calendar, whom they joined at Dumfries on the 6th of May. If Montrose was prevented from attempting to reach Stirling, with his slender backing, from misgivings as to the sincerity of Sinclair and Lothian, or the loyalty of their respective regiments, he probably now thought himself fully justified in his doubts, for the very regiment he had been invited to take command of at Stirling arrived about a fortnight afterwards at Dumfries, with an army whose principal object was to crush Montrose. And, moreover, Sir James Turner himself was with that army, the observed of all observers in their military operations, and apparently a most sincere and sanctified Covenanter. His own account of the matter is, that the united voices of the military commanders, consulted in rendering this new army as effective as possible, named himself as the fittest person to be Adjutant-General to the Earl of Calendar, and the situation was immediately offered to him, without prejudice to his commission in Lord Sinclair's regiment. But the conscientious Ritt-master refused, alleging that he was unequal to both charges, but in reality, he adds, because "I expected Montrose, and was with good reason dissatisfied with Calendar. Notwithstanding of all this, Calendar did not give over to give me all imaginable assurances that he would act for the King." Finding himself vehemently suspected by the Committee of Estates, and that to throw up his commission at this moment was equivalent to casting himself into prison, persuaded also, by the assurances of the General, that he might be instrumental in saving the King, Turner lent his valuable aid to this expedition. "Upon these grounds,"

he says, " my Lord Sinclair's regiment marched into England, and I with them, and made a fashion, (for indeed it was no better,) to take the Covenant, that under pretence of the Covenant we might ruin the Covenanters; a thing, though too much practised in a corrupt world, yet in itself dishonest, sinful, and disallowable; for it is certain that no evil should be done that good may come of it. Neither did any good at all come of this, for Calendar all along proved true to his own interest and gain, and false to the King's, never laying hold on any opportunity whereby he might, with small difficulty, have done his Majesty signal service."

The Dictator, while he thus put matters in train to effect the destruction of the mortal being of his dreaded rival, at the same time set his principal machine, the Kirk of Scotland, at its highest pressure, and most rampant action, against the soul of Montrose.

The grand excuse of the national movement was ever the tyranny of Charles the First. To establish that accusation, in its ordinary and flagrant sense of despotic cruelty, against a Monarch who was as much inclined to peace, who looked as kindly on his neighbour, and turned as truly to his God, as any Christian, not to say King, on earth, was certainly no easy matter. But the imposition of the ritual in Scotland afforded a powerful handle, and simply because of all tyranny that which would enslave the understanding and the conscience is most to be dreaded, as it comprehends every other species, and would interfere even with the eternal welfare of the individual. Hence the value to the faction of the clamour raised upon this bad policy of Laud's,—hence the value of the clergy as political agitators. For the moment the people were persuaded,

—and over a religiously disposed people who have such powers and opportunities of persuasion as the clergy?—that such was the nature of Charles's tyranny, what was wanting in the quantity of despotism, to cause excitement against him, was made up by the quality, and thus faction obtained its most powerful lever. No sooner, however, was the clerical constitution established, than the love and abuse of power, in other words tyranny, the existence of which in the character of the King was little else than a fiction of his enemies, became actively developed, in its most vicious kind and most inordinate degree, by the very Movement that professed to be a *panacea* and an end to all sufferings from tyranny. Whoever doubts this, let him read and ponder even the printed selection from the letters and journals of the Reverend Robert Baillie, which, for talents and Christian feelings, furnish perhaps the most reputable, and certainly the most instructive and amusing, of covenanting records. It was not merely in the frown of the aristocratic factionists, or in the feudal power of democratic chiefs, that Proteus-like tyranny was again to find a shape. In the men who called themselves of God, and who quoted,—when the question was massacre or mercy,—"what means this bleating of sheep in mine ear,"—and who said, when anarchy prevailed or blood flowed,—"business is going in God's old way,"—and—"the work goes bonnily on,"—was it most frightfully to re-appear. It was not merely that every baronial leader, of this faction of freedom, was inclined to play the tyrant, and, as Montrose expressed it, to bring the supreme power again into the hands of *one*,—but every sanctified leader of a covenanting flock, pretended to a Vatican of his own, and was but an ill-conditioned and petty Pope, with a giant's

inclination for power. The appetite of the Pope himself, to command the consciences and control the understandings of those subject to him, was not so gluttonous as that of the most orthodox Covenanter that ever thundered from a wooden desk and a rusty gown. Hence the covenanting Presbyter merged so soon in the King-killing *Independent*, an easy transition and inevitable connection, which Montrose himself, on the eve of his execution, so admirably illustrated, when, to the crafty or crude distinctions of his clerical tormentors, he simply replied,—" error is infinite."

Then how terrible was the scourge of their combined domination as a court of law! Baillie appears not to have been aware of the commentary he suggested, when, from the many cross-lights of his bewildered brain, he threw out this,—" the commission from the General Assembly, which before was of small use, is like almost to become a constant Judicatory, and very profitable, but of so high a strain, that to some it is terrible already." And no wonder it was terrible, for the most conscientious and honourable opposition to the democratic movement, it crushed with the thunders of *excommunication*, a sentence combining, in its unhallowed connection with the secular power of Argyle, the pretensions of papal impiety with the policy of the Irish savage, who significantly chalks a death's head and cross bones upon the threshold of his enemy.

Montrose, accompanied by his useless staff of nobles and chiefs without their following, had crossed the borders with the King's command and commission to arrest rebellion. Consequently they must be excommunicated. The Committee of the General Assembly ordained that, upon the 26th of April 1644, the sentence in question should be pronounced in the Great Church of

Edinburgh, against Montrose, Crawford, Nithisdale, Ogilvy, Aboyne, and Herries. Peremptory orders were sent to all the ministers throughout Scotland, to repeat the same from their perverted pulpits, a task which most of them infinitely preferred to preaching the peace of the gospel. It is curious to observe that one vehement charge, against some of the non-covenanting clergy who were so illegally crushed by the Assembly of 1638, was, that they were addicted to pronouncing excommunications, not, indeed, for the mere purpose of furthering a secular faction, but in protection of the rites and ceremonies of their church. "He," says Baillie, speaking of Dr Hamilton of Glassford, who declined their jurisdiction, "was a violent persecutor, *even to excommunication*, and denying of marriage and baptism of those who would not communicate with him kneeling. Many such things were libelled against him." But while such things were *libelled* against the Episcopal clergy, they were notoriously committed and gloried in by their more intolerant and self-constituted judges.* We

* The following instances among others are recorded by Spalding.

"Upon Sonday, 8 October, Mr Thomas Blackhall and his wyf both excommunicat as Papists. [A character which Episcopalian principles were sufficient to confer.] And likeas * * * Menzies, spouse to Thomas Colleisoune, excommunicat as ane Papist. Strange to see, the wyf to be excommunicat, and the husband not to keep societie with her! Mr Andrew Cant, minister to thir excommunications."

"Mr Thomas Blackhall, ane burgess of the tonne, causit bring his lawfull bairn to the kirk to be baptisit upon the 10 April 1643, and held up the bairn in his own hand, as the custom is, but Mr Andrew Cant would not give the bairn baptism in the father's hand until ane gossop got the bairn in his hand, alledging he was ane Papist, syne baptisit the bairn."

He tells also that the wife of a town officer of Aberdeen, "turned her face to the wall, and through plain displeasure deceissit immediately," her husband having brought back her child unbaptized, which the minister refused to make a Christian of, "because the bairn was not brocht

have already had occasion to notice that Baillie's better feelings at first revolted against the proposition of immediately excommunicating the bishops who declined the Assembly's jurisdiction.* This was but a shudder of his conscience ere the Covenanter plunged into the stream. However rational may be the idea of excluding from the benefits of any human society those who obstinately refuse to conform to its rules and regulations, the covenanting doctrine of excommunication cannot be defended, for it was carried to the most frightful extent of tyrannical and irrational impiety. Not contented with the temporal ruin such a sentence involved, the zealots, who anathematized Episcopacy, arrogated to themselves the keys of Paradise and Hell, and offered the one or the other to their victim *in articulo mortis*, according as the sufferer chose to submit his conscience to them. From the mouth of one of the clergy who pursued Montrose to the scaffold it comes, (as we shall afterwards show,) that when he met their latest persecution of him with the firmness of a man, the spirit of a Christian, and the temper of a saint, they told him,—"We had, if we found you penitent, power from the Commission of the General Assembly to release you from that sentence of excommunication under which you lie. But now, since we find it far otherwise with you, and that you maintain your former course, and all those things for which that sentence passed upon you, we must, with sad hearts, leave you under the same, unto the judgment of the Great God, having the fearful apprehension that *what is bound on Earth God will bind in Heaven*."

to him when he was bapteizing some other bairns." These are not the only examples that could be adduced.

* See Vol. i. p. 197.

While the Covenanters were thus impiously pretending to close even the gates of Heaven against our hero, he was recruiting, as he best might, the handful of troops with which he had retired upon Carlisle, and having again brought some militia of the north of England to his standard, did all that his means enabled him towards sustaining the Royal cause, in the counties of Northumberland and Durham. In this he was sufficiently successful to alarm and enrage the Covenanters. It was expected that Calendar, notwithstanding his alleged partiality "for his old friends the Banders," would devour Montrose before a month elapsed, and that Argyle, now so busy in the north, and whose digestion was understood, by the Scotch clergy, to be very powerful, * must already have utterly decomposed Huntly. Baillie, at this time a delegate to the Westminster Assembly of Divines, writes, on the 3d of May,—"Argyle, I hope, by this, has gotten order of Huntly, and Calendar of Montrose." On the 31st of the same month, however, he says,—"Montrose ravages at his pleasure in all Northumberland, and the Bishopric—we hope it shall not be so long,"—and, in the following month,—"the delay of Calendar in coming, so long, has given time to the Marquis of Montrose to make havoc of the northern counties, which will make the siege of Newcastle the longer, and without Newcastle

* Some popular biographies of Argyle labour to prove him not only a saint, but a hero, and point withal to his conduct on the scaffold, a very equivocal field of heroism for those in whose favour no other can be appealed to. It is added, however, that "though he had eaten a whole partridge at dinner, no vestige of it was found in his stomach after death; if he had been much affected by the anticipation of death, his digestion, it may be easily calculated, could not have been so good."—*Chambers' Biog. Dict.*

this city will hardly put off this winter." To relieve Newcastle, and harass the rebels in the north of England, was the important object to which Montrose now directed his efforts, with resources so precarious and slender that nothing but his genius could have ventured or succeeded in any attempt of the kind. The principal results of "his ravages" in those counties were, that he took the Castle of Morpeth, (a recent acquisition of the Covenanters) after an obstinate siege of twenty days, in which Montrose suffered the loss of 1 major, 3 captains, 3 lieutenants, 4 ensigns, 180 soldiers, and an expenditure of 200 cannon shot. From his prisoners, whom he treated and protected in a manner totally inconsistent with the calumny of his cruelty in war, he exacted the brittle promise that they would never more fight against the King, and so dismissed them. * He also stormed a fort at the mouth of the Tyne, which had been lately taken by the Scots, and dismissed the garrison upon the same terms as he had done that of Morpeth. Moreover, he cast plentiful supplies into Newcastle, of corn and other provisions gathered from the neighbouring counties, an exploit which could only have been effected by the greatest skill and daring.

It will be observed that in the passage we have quoted from Baillie's letter, dated in the month of June, Montrose is styled Marquis. He had not, however, as generally supposed, departed from Oxford with that elevation, the patent for which is dated three months later than his commission as Lieutenant-Gene-

* The garrison marched out, and the keys of Morpeth were delivered on the 29th May 1644, to Montrose, who thereafter gave an entertainment to the principal officers of his enemy. For some further particulars of this siege, see note at the end of the volume.

ral of Scotland. There is still preserved, in the charter-chest of his family, the warrant for a patent under the Great Seal of Charles I., for creating James Earl of Montrose, and the heirs-male of his body, Marquises of Montrose, dated at Oxford the 6th of May 1644, supersigned by the King, and countersigned by Sir Robert Spotiswood, Secretary.* This was about the time of Montrose's dashing and successful evolutions in the north of England. But the partial gleam was destined too soon to be clouded. Prince Rupert, with ill-judged impetuosity, hastily risked and lost the battle of Marston Moor, and Montrose, who, in obedience to letters just received, was making all the speed possible to join the Prince on the battle-field, could only be in time to meet that luckless commander, in full retreat, the day after the battle. "If," says Bishop Guthrie, "his highness had lingered till the Marquis of Montrose's arrival, who hasted towards him with the men he had drawn together in the north of England, he had been much the stronger; but before Montrose could reach him he went towards them

* The King gave the signet to the persecuted President, when Lanerick fled from Oxford to the Covenanters. The following extract from Sir James Balfour's MS. notes of the covenanting Parliament, 1644, will serve to illustrate Lanerick's real dispositions towards his abused Sovereign, and the royal cause: "Thursday, 18th July 1644, petition exhibited to the House by William Earl of Lanerick, against Sir James Galloway, for his usurping the office of Secretary; as also against Sir Robert Spotiswood, now using the said office at Court ever since the petitioner's restraint at Oxford, at which time his Majesty required the said signet from the petitioner, who delivered it to Lord Digby, and Sir Edward Nicholas. He desires the House to take to their consideration the *deserved punishment of the two usurpers*, contrary to two acts of Council, and one of Parliament; and that by act they would declare his office and place of Secretary, to be free of any prejudice by the *usurpation of these enemies to their country*."

and engaged in battle." This fatal blow, which happened in the commencement of the month of July, completely paralyzed any efforts Montrose had been enabled to make. It left him defenceless in the midst of hostile and victorious armies, and even induced him to go to the King, and tell him that it was not in the north of England he could be of further service to his Majesty. It is manifest, however, from Baillie's correspondence, that in a very short time Montrose had rendered himself not a little formidable there, and also to the General who had been sent to crush him. "Calendar," he writes, "with about five thousand foot and horse, came over Tyne, about the 20th of July, got Hartlepool and Stockton on Tees, the 24th, went thereafter to Newcastle, &c. Prince Rupert had sent the most of his horse with Clavering and Montrose, northward. We were the more willing to be sent north, because of Calendar's danger from Montrose; also to be near Scotland if any need were." But Montrose was only lingering, in longing admiration, with this splendid body of Rupert's cavalry, (from five to six thousand strong,) in the vain hope of obtaining resources for his own desperate adventure. 'Give me,' he said, 'but a thousand of those horsemen, and I will cut my way into the heart of Scotland.' The Prince whom he addressed, though possessing less talent and judgment, was as gallant, and romantic, and impetuous, as Montrose himself. But he was impracticable, and, says Sir Philip Warwick, "a little sharpness of temper of body, and uncommunicableness in society or council, by seeming with a pish to neglect all another said and he approved not, made him less grateful than his friends wished." Carried at first by the irresistible gallantry of the Scottish hero,

he frankly offered him a thousand of his horse to take into Scotland. But the very next day, moved by the cautious counsel of some around him, when caution came too late, or by the caprice of an irritable temper at a trying crisis, he withdrew his grateful offer, and added one to the many pangs of indignant disappointment which those faithless times inflicted on the towering spirit of Montrose.

His little army dispersed, or left with Prince Rupert, and his noble associates dispirited and wavering, Montrose returned to Carlisle. The first expedient of his fertile and romantic genius, in this critical and hopeless posture of affairs, was to send Lord Ogilvy and Sir William Rollock into Scotland, so disguised as to elude the merciless vigilance of the covenanting rebels, in order to ascertain the state and feeling of parties there, and to gather tidings of Antrim and his army of Irish loyalists. These two executed their perilous mission with fidelity and courage, and returned to Montrose in safety, about a fortnight after they had quitted him, but with the unwelcome intelligence that Scotland, including all its strongholds and the border passes, was entirely in the hands of the covenanting faction, who were ready to visit even a whisper in favour of the King with the pains and penalties of high treason. Moreover, that there were no certain tidings of the promised aid from Ireland. Such was the position of matters when Montrose held a consultation, with the noblemen and gentlemen who had hitherto followed him, as to what proceedings they should now adopt. Some advised him to return to Oxford, and inform his Majesty that under all the unforeseen circumstances his, Montrose's, adventure was utterly hopeless. Others said, that he ought to inclose his commission

with an explanatory letter to the King, and retire abroad until a more favourable opportunity presented itself. All agreed that the contemplated expedition into Scotland was now impracticable. Just a twelvemonth had elapsed since Montrose held a consultation of the same kind, at the Keir, immediately after his interview with Henderson on the banks of the Forth at Stirling. Upon that occasion Lord Napier, and his other friends there, had expressed an opinion, that the offer of their services to redeem his Majesty's affairs in Scotland was not to be thought of, as the attempt seemed utterly hopeless. Nevertheless, Montrose had persisted, and, after a transitory gleam of better fortune, found himself, chiefly in consequence of the battle of Marston Moor, in a situation more critical and hopeless than ever. There now remained with him only about a hundred cavaliers, of whom the great proportion, however loyal, were quite averse from following the adventure further. Montrose, whose determination to support the cause of Monarchy was absolutely unique in his times, and only to be compared to that of the Knights of Chivalry, with whom seeming impossibilities were no reason for turning back from whatever adventure they addressed themselves to achieve, acted precisely as he had done before. He acceded, or seemed to accede, to reasoning which was too well founded, but at the same time he inwardly adopted the resolution to make the attempt, and incur the risk, in his individual person. If at this time the crisis was more desperate than ever, and his resources more limited, on the other hand, he felt himself more deeply pledged than when he met the King at the siege of Gloucester, in the former year. Since that interview he had been entrusted with the military command of Scotland, at his own earnest desire, and if he returned to his Sovereign

so soon with nothing but a tale of disaster and despondency, his appearance would be more disreputable than the foreboding "apparition" of Hamilton. He had already been honoured with a marquisate for the gallantry of his first attempts, and if he now retired abroad, without a blow struck in Scotland, Hamilton's enjoyment of his Dukedom, within his prison of Pendennis, would be enviable by comparison with the fame of Montrose. And upon the memorable occasion, when Henrietta Maria listened at York to the peaceful counsels of the former favourite, we may believe that the ardent and indignant feelings of the discarded hero had led him to express himself, against his successful rival, in a manner that now the more imperatively required him to do or die. Sir James Balfour has accidentally preserved to us an anecdote characteristic of Montrose's thorough and irrepressible contempt, not merely for Hamilton's counsel to the Queen at the collision in question, but generally for his character as a soldier. It seems that a dog belonging to the Earl of Newcastle's son was engaged in single combat, (probably with some such privileged and provoking questioner as "the Prince's dog at Kew,") in the Queen's garden at York, when the Marquis came behind the animal and ran it through with his sword.* The in-

* Although the epitaph, quoted in the text, has not been printed with the poetry of Montrose hitherto collected, there can be no doubt of its authenticity; for it appears in the handwriting of the Lord Lyon, Sir James Balfour, (among his manuscripts preserved in the Advocates' Library,) who thus entitles it: "Some lines,—on the killing of the Earl of Newcastle's son's dog by the Marquis of Hamilton, in the Queen's garden at York,—written then by the Earl of Montrose." For the knowledge of these lines, I am indebted to the researches of an indefatigable and accurate antiquary, James Maidment, Esq. Advocate. The incident must have occurred, when Montrose and Hamilton were in keen opposition at York, in the councils of the Queen. Other pasquils in the same MS. vol. are dated 1643.

cident elicited from Montrose the following pasquil against Hamilton, which, if it be not the best example of our hero's poetical powers, is sufficiently characteristic, and affords a curious historical illustration, when connected with the reasons of these two rivals being then together at York.

*Epitaph.*

Here lies a Dog, whose qualities did plead
Such fatal end from a *renowned* blade,—
And blame him not that he succumbed now,
For Herc'les could not combat against two,—
For whilst he on his foe revenge did take,
He *manfully* was killed behind his back.
Then say, to eternize the Cur that's gone
He *fleshed the maiden sword of* HAMILTON.

Some time, then, about the end of July, or beginning of August, Montrose and his hundred cavaliers, of whom the greater proportion were noblemen and gentlemen, left the town of Carlisle with the purpose of joining his Majesty. The Earl of Crawford, however, retired to the garrison of Newcastle, which had not yet fallen into the hands of the Covenanters, and Lord Aboyne preferred remaining for a time at Carlisle. But Montrose had reserved a scheme of his own, which he only imparted to his friend Lord Ogilvy. To that gallant youth he gave in charge the band of crest-fallen cavaliers, with instructions to go forthwith to Court, and urge his Majesty to hasten a supply of men, and arms, to enable his Lieutenant-General to prosecute the enterprise in Scotland. On the third day of their journey, the whole equipage of Montrose, including his servants, horses, and baggage, being still with the party, as also his constant companion Ogilvy, it was never doubted that their illustrious leader was with them

too. But he had secretly quitted the cavalcade after the second day's march, and left them to Ogilvy, who unfortunately was not destined to reach the King with Montrose's message. For these cavaliers were attacked on their way through Lancashire by a superior force of rebel horse, and, after defending themselves bravely, were, for the most part, made prisoners, including, among others of distinction, Lord Ogilvy himself, and Henry Graham, Montrose's natural brother. They were all sent off to Hull, the governor of which immediately escorted them to General Leslie, who, in junction with Calendar, was now laying siege to Newcastle, where in the meantime we must leave them.

Montrose, when he thus gave his companions the slip, returned forthwith to Carlisle, and imparted his project to Aboyne, but at the same time persuaded that gallant and loyal young nobleman, whom nevertheless he deemed somewhat too unsteady for the critical adventure, to remain in possession of Carlisle, while he, Montrose, should make the all but impracticable attempt of threading his way in disguise, through passes and districts completely occupied by Covenanters in arms, (who would have obtained a large price for the capture of Montrose, dead or alive,) even to the Highlands of Scotland, where he still hoped to be joined by the promised forces of Antrim. Selecting only two companions, namely, his trusty friend Sir William Rollock, and an officer of the name of Sibbald, a man of known courage, experience, and tact, (though he too afterwards proved false,) Montrose set out upon this perilous expedition, some time in the month of August 1644. There is not in the annals of fiction a more interesting or romantic incident than this undoubt-

ed historical fact, that Montrose, disguised as the groom of two covenanting troopers, whom Rollock and Sibbald personated, mounted on a sorry nag, and leading another in his hand, rode, in the rear of his two companions, to the borders, where he narrowly escaped a detection that would have brought him instantly to the scaffold, on which the gallant Gordon of Haddo was already sacrificed. Their first peril was a conversation with a servant of Sir Richard Graham's, who, mistaking the trio for soldiers of Leslie's army, entertained them with the information that his master, Sir Richard, had undertaken to act as a spy upon the borders, for the very purpose of conveying to the Covenanters intelligence of the motions of the royalists, and of making prisoners any of Montrose's adherents who might be returning to Scotland. This troublesome companion at length separated from our adventurers, without having observed anything to excite his suspicions, far less to inform him that it was Montrose himself with whom he had been conversing. No sooner, however, was this peril past than a greater one occurred. They were suddenly accosted by a Scotch soldier, who had formerly served under the Marquis of Newcastle, and who was well acquainted with the person of Montrose. Against the scrutiny of this old campaigner no masquerade was availing. Montrose's "quick and piercing eye," and "singular grace in riding," were not to be disguised, and, accordingly, this soldier, passing the seeming officers, at once addressed himself to their servant, and respectfully saluted him as my Lord of Montrose. In vain the latter endeavoured to evade the compliment and sustain his part. "What," exclaimed the soldier, still preserving the utmost respect in his countenance and manner, "do I not know my Lord Marquis of

Montrose? Go your way, and God be with you wheresoever you go." Montrose bestowed a few crowns upon his unwelcome admirer, who left them to their journey and never betrayed the secret, though he might have made his own fortune by the discovery.

These adventures, however, induced Montrose to make all possible speed, that he might reach his secret destination ere the news of his presence in Scotland had gone forth, and accordingly we are informed by Dr Wishart, that he spared not horse flesh, and scarcely drew bridle until he arrived at the house of Tillibelton, hard by the Grampians, (those mountains he had so often traversed,) where dwelt his dearly beloved cousin, Patrick Graham of Inchbrakie. To him the hero was most welcome, for Inchbrakie was one ever ready to sympathise with the gallant sentiment of Montrose's own characteristic stanza,—

> He either fears his fate too much,
> Or his deserts are small,
> That puts it not unto the touch,
> To win or lose it all.

Even in this retreat Montrose was obliged to keep himself closely concealed, in order to elude the vigilance of the Covenanters. Assuming the garb of a mountaineer, he remained, so long as the night lasted, among the neighbouring mountains, and returned betimes to a little obscure cottage, near the mansion of his cousin, where he lay concealed during the day. It was only for a short time, however, that he remained thus unheard of. He had sent his two companions to inform Lord Napier, and the rest of his confidential friends, that he had reached the Grampians in safety, and that he was anxiously waiting for intel-

ligence of the state of parties in Scotland, especially as to how the Huntly Gordons were sustaining the royal cause, or if they were ready to assist him in supporting the Standard. But his friends returned after a few days, with tidings any thing but encouraging. Ruinous fines, imprisonment, and death, were the certain portion of every loyal person in Scotland who fell into the hands of the Committee of Estates, now wielding in the most lawless and tyrannical manner the whole powers of the executive, under the sinister but far-sighted policy and dictation of Argyle. Huntly had fled into the wilds of Strathnaver, the western portion of Caithness, and the rudest and most inaccessible district of the Highlands. There he sought refuge in the house of that ever loyal Highland chieftain, Donald Mackay, Lord Reay, who himself at this time was besieged in the town of Newcastle, along with the Earl of Crawford and other friends of Montrose, among whom was his faithful chaplain and historiographer, Dr Wishart. It may be as well, before proceeding with the adventures of Montrose, to glance at the circumstances which seem to have deprived Huntly of all heart or enthusiasm in his still unquestionable loyalty, and Montrose of that indispensable aid which he had expected from the powerful and gallant Gordons.

In one respect only was the loyalty of Huntly above that of Montrose, namely, in having from the very first rejected the Covenant, as a seditious imposition and no national charter of Religion and Liberties. Of the Solemn League and Covenant he entertained, and fearlessly expressed, the same abhorrence as did the reclaimed chief of the Grahams. In every other respect, however, Huntly was inferior to Montrose. While the latter, with comparatively no

local influence, or "following," and with scarcely any military resources whatever, did all but conquer covenanting Scotland and save the King, the former, always able at a moment's warning to attract to his banner a considerable army, composed of the very chivalry of Scotland, and feudally attached to his person, never effected any thing in a cause to which, nevertheless, he was the nobleman of his country the most invariably true, and for which his blood flowed upon the scaffold. Had he not established a fame in arms on the continent, although his military movements at home would have sufficed to redeem him from the ridiculous charge of cowardice, brought against him by that great kirk-warrior the Reverend Robert Baillie, still something would have been awanting to prove that he possessed the keen natural propensity to arms, which so gloriously characterized his gallant name and race. Many domestic troubles and distresses no doubt accompanied that superiority of feudal resources which he possessed over his illustrious rival. He had been left with the cares of a young and very numerous family, by the death of his excellent lady about the commencement of the troubles in Scotland. Unfortunately this lady was the sister of the evil genius of the times, Argyle, who, up to the period we are considering, had exercised, by means peculiar to himself, and in which the bridle and whip of patrimonial interests were not forgotten, a control over the sons and daughters of Huntly, much beyond that exercised by their own father, whose enormous load of debt afforded facilities which were seized with all the tyrannical meanness and cunning of his oppressor's dispositions. Thus the House of Huntly, whose high-blooded scions might have been a bulwark to the throne in Scotland, was thrown into

a state of disorganization, that may probably account for that more or less of heartlessness, or feebleness, with which the most loyal demonstrations of its chief were ever tainted.

In this year 1644, and when the first rumour of Montrose's enterprise was already causing great excitement throughout covenanting Scotland, Huntly's eldest son, Lord Gordon, who in the following year fell desperately fighting by the side of Montrose, was at variance with his father, and at the disposal of Argyle, with whom he then appeared to be co-operating against the royal cause. But there can be no question that he was virtually detained prisoner by his uncle, and compelled for a short time to act in a manner most contrary to his own inclinations. Aboyne, the second son, had already taken a decided part against the Argyle faction, in his correspondence with the Earls of Nithisdale and Antrim, and in his expedition with Montrose. The consequence, however, was, that he now lay under a doom of forfeiture by the covenanting Parliament, and a sentence of excommunication. But there is evidence (to be afterwards adduced,) that Argyle was still using every means to withdraw this young nobleman from a cause in which hitherto, however unsuccessfully, he had been very active, and that Montrose and his friends foresaw that the arts and instigations of his uncle were likely to prevail with the jealous temper, and somewhat unsettled humours of Aboyne. The third son, Lord Lewis, as we have already had occasion to mention, actually robbed his father of some valuable jewels, with which he made his escape to Holland early in the year 1641. Spalding records nothing further of this wild youth until the month of March 1644, when he says,—"Lewis Gordon, the Marquis's third son, happened to come to Edinburgh; where he met with

his sister, the Lady Haddington; but he was apprehended, and forced to find caution not to go out of the town, until the Marquis of Argyle came to the town of Edinburgh. But when the Marquis of Huntly heard this, he took little thought of him, for he had not seen him since he went away with his jewels. Always he remained in free-ward within Edinburgh awhile, and when Argyle came, he was put to liberty." Immediately after this we find both Lord Gordon and Lord Lewis in arms for the Committee of Estates, at the head of some of their father's retainers, and under the command of Argyle.

Besides exercising this control over the members of Huntly's family, Argyle contrived to acquire a legal grasp of some of his finest territory, which greatly facilitated the objects of the Dictator's sinister ambition. Elsewhere we have mentioned certain bonds, pressed by him upon the loyal districts in the year 1640. In particular, a bond by the feuars and tenants of Badenoch, for payment of their duties, and for "doing their duty in the public."* Of this lordship of Huntly's, Argyle had possessed himself by the following means: The Lady Ann Gordon, Huntly's eldest daughter, who, says Spalding, "was a precise puritan, and therefore well liked in Edinburgh," was married, in 1639, to James Lord Drummond, eldest son of the Earl of Perth. Argyle, who made the marriage, became cautioner for the lady's dower, being forty thousand merks. About the same time, Lady Henrietta Gordon, Huntly's second daughter, was married to George Lord Seton, eldst son of the Earl of Wintoun, also under the auspices of her uncle, who in like man-

* See before, Vol. i. p. 502.

ner became cautioner for her dower to the same amount. Very soon afterwards, Argyle made the marriage between Huntly's third daughter, the Lady Jane, and Thomas second Earl of Haddington, and also took burden upon himself for the lady. To meet these obligations for his nieces' portions, Argyle obtained a *wadset* of Huntly's lordships of Lochaber and Badenoch, being a complete right in the person of Argyle to the profits of these extensive districts, so long as they were unredeemed by Huntly from the debt incurred for his daughters. There can be no doubt that Argyle's principal object in all these transactions was, to extend his own feudal power, to be enabled to oppress and concuss the districts where democracy was least prevalent, and to destroy the influence of the loyal house of Huntly.

While the family and territories of this unfortunate nobleman were thus over-ridden, another circumstance appears also to have operated as a check upon the ardour with which it might have been expected that the chivalry of the Gordons would have rushed to the royal standard. When Montrose obtained his commission as Lieutenant-General of the kingdom under Prince Maurice, a separate commission, of the same date, was bestowed upon Huntly, as the King's Lieutenant-General be-north the Grampians. But unfortunately the terms of their respective commissions rendered the latter subordinate to Montrose, whose command extended over the whole of Scotland, subject only to the orders of his Majesty,* or Prince Maurice, when present. But few years had elapsed since our hero

* "The words of Huntly's commission are,—and you yourself carefully to observe and follow such farther orders and directions as you may or shall receive from us, under our signet or sign-manual, or from our General, or Lieutenant-General of our kingdom of Scotland."—*MS. History of the Gordons, Advocates' Library.*

himself planted the Covenant in the north, and carried Huntly, (at that time, also, commissioned as the King's Lieutenant,) and Lord Gordon, to their oppressive captivity in the Castle of Edinburgh. Montrose, rationally redeemed from his false position, had since earned, above every loyalist in Scotland, a just claim to the military command of his country. Even with his covenanting career thrown into the scale against him, Montrose's pretensions at this time to raise the Standard were superior to Huntly's. But the magnanimity which the latter might now have displayed was more perhaps than could be well expected from human nature, and, for the covenanting crusade of his youth, our hero paid the penalty of his ultimate failure and destruction, which is mainly to be attributed to the backwardness of the Gordons, and their desertion of him at the most critical moment.

In the month of March, immediately before Montrose first crossed the borders and took possession of Dumfries, Huntly made some demonstrations of co-operating, by raising the north in virtue of his command there. But whatever warlike designs he may have contemplated, his published declarations bear that he had only taken up arms to defend himself against the tyrannical and lawless commands and processes of the Committee of Estates, who had directed a commission to the Sheriffs of Aberdeen and Banff to seize his person, houses, rents, and goods, without the form of a trial or sentence; and that, says Huntly in his declaration of the 16th of March 1644, "for no other true cause but that I refuse to concur with them in the levy of men and monies for assisting the present invasion of England, contrary to my conscience, incompatible with my humble loyalty to our gracious Sovereign, and

so destructive to the late pacification solemnly ratified by his Majesty and the Parliament of both kingdoms, as no honest Christian, being of this my opinion, can willingly condescend to be contained in it." Upon this ground Huntly protests, that if any bloodshed, or disturbance of the public peace, be consequent on his rising, the responsibility rests with those who had driven him to such measures in self-defence.

It was not after this fashion that Montrose stood for the King. The personal following of Huntly, under all the disadvantages of the depressed spirit of their leader, amounted to upwards of fifteen hundred foot, and three hundred horse, completely armed, and longing for the field. Had the electric spark of the genius of Montrose been communicated to them, had he led them to action, they might have traversed Scotland, gathering as they went, and Argyle never have found even the opportunity of disgracing himself at the head of his well appointed armies. As it was, a raid or a foray, suddenly arising out of the irrepressible ardour of those northern barons who looked to Huntly in vain, was all the fruit of his transitory appearance in arms. It was upon the 19th of March that some of the elite of Huntly's staff, in particular, young Irving of Drum, (who had been lately married to Huntly's youngest daughter, the Lady Mary) his brother, Robert Irving, Sir John Gordon of Haddo, Sir George Gordon of Gicht, and his cousin, the gallant Major Nathaniel Gordon, with some other warlike lairds, and about sixty horse, dashed into the town of Aberdeen, early in the morning, and, without meeting the slightest opposition, made prisoners of some of the leading and most obnoxious Covenanters, including Provost Leslie himself, all of whom were carried to Huntly's castle of Strathbogie. " But (without) *bo to*

*their blanket,*" says Spalding, " they rode down through the Gallowgate, and came back up through the Gallowgate, none daring to say it was evil done." This obtained the name of *Haddo's raid*, that distinguished baron being the leader of the worse than fruitless exploit, and some of the captives his personal enemies. A month afterwards, when Montrose was at Dumfries, the very same gallants, annoyed and disgusted with Huntly's inactivity, attacked the town of Montrose of their own accord, an adventure yet more daring, and just as fruitless as the former. It illustrates the difference betwixt the genius, or dispositions, of Huntly and Montrose, in their support of the royal cause, that the latter, too, commenced his operations by successive attacks upon the principal towns in the hands of the Covenanters, but with a very different result. His military means were in every respect inferior to Huntly's. But he left no time to his followers to waste their strength in petty raids. In person he instantly led his whole disposable force to action—came down upon the cities of the Covenant " like a speat,"—and each successive blow he struck was a victory, at which tyranny and hypocrisy grew pale.

At length the gallant and loyal heart of Huntly appears to have left him altogether. Or it may be that unfortunately his character is not liable to the modern criticism pointed against Montrose's, namely, of having been " deficient in that calmness and solidity of judgment which the critical period at which he lived so much required." * Certainly Montrose, whenever his desperate fortunes required him to hold consultation with his adherents, invariably found a great preponderance of voices for giving up what they considered a

* Dr Cook.

hopeless adventure, while he himself urged them to proceed, and inwardly determined, if they would not follow him, to make the attempt alone. The converse was the case with Huntly. At a council of war, which he held upon the 29th of April,—in consequence of the murmurings of the gallant barons who surrounded him, at his inactivity and delay in going through the north with "a flying army," to break the power of the Covenanters,—Huntly alone opposed the warlike propositions of his followers. 'Let us go instantly,' said Haddo, Gicht, and the Marquis's own son-in-law, the young Laird of Drum, 'to the Mearns, and to Angus, and break their forces, otherwise we are all lost.' But the Marquis reasoned against this as a desperate attempt, and with difficulty was prevailed upon to accede to another proposition, that they should hover upon the flanks of the covenanting armies, now coming against them from the south, that they should foray and live upon the estates of the disloyal, and, when hard pressed by superior numbers, retire to the strongholds of Strathbogie, Auchindoun, or the Bog of Gicht. 'By this means,' they said, 'the enemy will be exhausted, and ourselves enabled to keep the field until the King can send us succours.' Huntly had already lost one of the most efficient of his officers, Nathaniel Gordon, who quitted him in disgust upon being "reproved very bitterly," by the Marquis, for having wrested, without orders, a Danish prize from an English pirate, who retaliated severely upon the coast. But he acceded to the proposition of mustering an army at his own residence, and, accordingly, on the 1st of May, Sir George Gordon of Gicht, Alexander Irving younger of Drum, Robert Irving his brother, followed by about sixty horse, rode in high spirits, and with new white lances in their

hands, to the rendezvous at Strathbogie. There also came Haddo, and many another gallant heart beating high with loyalty and courage, and the King's Lieutenant already found his standard supported by a brave little army of fifteen hundred foot, and three hundred horse. But, to their bitter disappointment, Huntly greeted them with the discouraging words,—'we are unequal to give them battle.' The indignant reply of the barons was,—'We have shown ourselves foolishly, and will leave the field shamefully—we thought never better of it.' But their leader persisted in disbanding them, although young Drum repeatedly stayed his father-in-law, as he was mounting his horse to be gone, and with so little ceremony, or so "weil rudely," as Spalding expresses it, that the Marquis was offended, and separated in anger from his gallant followers, whose honour and safety were thus compromised by their disheartened chief.

The adventures of the disbanded leaders were various and distressing. Young Drum, taking with him his wife, Lady Mary Gordon, (who shortly before had been rudely thrust out of the house of Drum by her uncle Argyle,) and two female attendants, together with his brother, Robert Irving, embarked secretly for Holland. But the lady became so ill from sea-sickness, that they were forced to land on the shores of Caithness, and a price of eighteen thousand merks having been offered by the Committee of Estates for the apprehension of Alexander Irving, and five thousand for his brother, they were shamefully betrayed into the hands of the Covenanters by Francis Sinclair, a relative in whom they had confided, and were cast into the tolbooth of Edinburgh, to suffer a loathsome confinement, in which Robert Irving died. Haddo and Gicht retired to their respective houses, where they fortified themselves in

vain. The day after that on which Huntly quitted Aberdeen for the rendezvous at Strathbogie, the army which the Estates had raised and placed under the command of Argyle for the subjugation of the north, entered that persecuted town, with the Lords Elcho, Burleigh, Arbuthnot, Kinghorn, and Carnegie, being about two thousand foot, and four hundred cavalry. But Argyle himself, with a like number of horse, had remained at Dunnotter, with his cousin the Earl of Marischal, whom he still contrived to keep from the royal cause, and his nephew the yet more unwilling Lord Gordon. Being joined here by the Irish regiments of Lothian and the Laird of Lawers, five hundred strong, they proceeded in the first instance to the place of Drum, to enact some of Argyle's characteristic sieges. The Laird of Drum (whom Spalding describes as a very innocent old gentleman, not inclined to take part in the troubles in which, without consulting him, his sons were engaged,) was from home, and the young laird and his brother at the rendezvous of Strathbogie. But Argyle and his company were received with trembling hospitality by two forlorn ladies resident at Drum, namely, Lady Irving herself, and her daughter-in-law, Argyle's niece, the Lady Mary Gordon. Their female arts proved no protection against the King of the Kirk. Argyle immediately ordered them to be forcibly thrust out of doors, with all their domestics, and the two ladies, wrapped in gray plaids, and riding on work-horses, found their way in sorry plight to Aberdeen. * Then followed the scene of plun-

* "Sir Alexander Irving of Drum was not at home when Argyle and the rest came; but his lady, and his gude-dochter, Lady Mary Gordon, sister-dochter to Argyle, were present. He and his company were all made welcome, according to the time. The Marquis shortly removed the two ladies, and set them out of yettis (doors) per force, albeit the young lady was his own sister's dochter, with two gray plaids about their heads. Their haill servants were also put to the yett; but the ladies came in upon two work naiges, in pitiful manner, to New Aber-

der and devastation at Drum, whose richly and curiously furnished mansion and well-stocked lands, were swept of every animal and article of value, including a chest, which the destroyers were so fortunate as to dig up from its concealment in the yard, containing plate and jewels estimated at twenty thousand pounds. Little they left of that stately dwelling but its dilapidated walls. And to this fate, the ever-loyal house of Drum had so frequently to submit, that at length it learnt to endure it, as the live eels the stripping of their skin.

Argyle then proceeded to the house of Kelly, where Haddo was better prepared for his reception. But this brave and memorable loyalist, unable to infuse his own determined spirit into his little garrison, and vainly relying upon the interest of his relative Marischal, and his young chief Lord Gordon, who were both with Argyle, put himself into the hands of his besiegers, and became the prisoner of the covenanting Parliament. His fate was sealed. No law existed that could reach his life for any thing he had done. But his merciless enemies, anxious to strike terror into all who were still inclined to support the monarchy, removed this slight difficulty by first making a law to meet his case, and then applying it retrospectively. He was beheaded at the cross of Edinburgh, with the instrument called "the maiden," on the 19th of July 1644. The Argyle kirk-men, as usual, haunted his exit like unclean birds, and laboured meanly, but in vain, to shake his constancy, and turn his Christian resignation, and confession of unworthiness before God, into an obeisance to the Covenant. His conduct on the scaffold was consistent with his gallantry in the field, and his virtues at home. "Thus,"—says Spalding, who mourned over him, in a

deen, and took up their lodging beside the good wife of Auchluncart, then dwelling in the town."

strain as pathetic as Mark Anthony's,—" thus ended this worshipful gentleman, borne down by the burghs of Scotland, ministry of Edinburgh, and Parliament of this land, especially by the Marquis of Argyle, the Lord Balmerino, and the Kirk, because he would never subscribe the Covenant, but stoutly followed the King in thir troublesome times, and lived and died a good Protestant. And albeit Haddo was an auncient baron of good estate, and still ane loyal subject to the King—hardy, stout, bold in all hazards—friend to his friend, and enemy to his enemy—of a good life and conversation—moderate, temperate, and religious—loth and unwilling still to give offence, and as loth to take offence—and, withal, a good neighbour, loving and kind to his tenants, kinsfolks, and friends—yet thus he ends!"*

* Even in his wild raid through Aberdeen, Haddo, at the same moment when he carried off the provost, " takes his young bairns, at the school, hame behind some of his servants, and sent them back upon the morn, except his eldest son." But he had them all with him at Kelly when taken : " He had six young children within the place, which, when it was randerit, were all put to the yett, safe and sound. Friends took three of them, and other three were sent into Old Aberdeen for learning at the schools; but not ane penny of their father's estate bestowed upon them." Nothing but the blackness of ashes did Argyle leave at and around the princely place of Kelly: " Stately was the plenishing within this house, and pleasant yards and planting about the same." The lineal male representation of Haddo, is in the noble family of Aberdeen, whose seat of Haddo House is, we presume, what formerly was called Kelly. Of the six children mentioned above three died young. The eldest son, Sir John, died without issue male. His brother George, about seven years old at the time of the siege, carried on the family with great distinction, became Chancellor of Scotland in 1682, and was raised to the peerage by the titles of Earl of Aberdeen, Viscount Formartine, Lord Haddo, &c.

The same scene was enacted at the house of Gicht. Sir George Gordon, also compelled to surrender, was sent prisoner to Edinburgh, where he narrowly escaped the fate of Haddo. As the place was taken, the young Laird of Gicht saved himself by a desperate exertion. Being uncommonly well mounted, he leaped his horse over the park walls, and got safe away, to the great disappointment of some of Argyle's cavalry, who were in keen pursuit of him.

In the meanwhile, the Marquis of Huntly, after disbanding his host at Strathbogie, had provided for his own safety. In the month of May he went to the Bog of Gicht, and taking from thence some trunks filled with gold, silver, and rich costly apparel, sent the keys of his castle, "with his stately saddel horses," to his son Lord Gordon, and having restored Provost Leslie, and all his prisoners, to their liberty, he took his solitary departure, riding by the water of Spey, clad in Highland coat and trews, with a black bonnet on his head. But James Gordon of Letterfury, to whose charge he had consigned the precious trunks, suddenly took shipping with them to Caithness, leaving the King's Lieutenant to his fate, who shortly afterwards, however, finds his own way to Caithness, and by a fortunate accident rencountered his faithless clansman, and recovered the treasure he scarcely expected to see again. Huntly had landed on Sutherland with but a single attendant, with whom he "speiris (inquires) for ane ale-house, calls for ane drink, and sends for Gordon of Syddra, dwelling hard beside." From this clansman the illustrious wanderer obtained a lodging that night. Next morning "the Marquis with his man" rode to Caithness, and slept in very dangerous quarters, namely, the house of his cousin-german, Francis Sinclair, who soon afterwards so venally betrayed the Irvings of Drum. On the following day Huntly accidentally stumbled upon Gordon of Letterfury, "and gave him no thanks for leaving of him behind, takes order with his trunks, dismisses him home, and himself with his man, upon the morn, takes horse, and to Strathnaver goes he." It was in an open fisher boat that the King's Lieutenant escaped to Sutherland, from whence he embarked in another boat at Caithness, and went by sea

to seek refuge in the wild country of the loyal Mackays, where he remained from this month of May till October in the following year.

King Campbell, though much chagrined at the escape of Huntly, whom he was most anxious to intercept, and still more uncomfortable in his reflections on the subject of Montrose, whose motions were yet a mystery, was now in complete possession of covenanting Scotland, and having re-organized his recent conquest of the north with his usual far-sighted ability, "upon Friday (says Spalding,) the last of May, took his leave of Aberdeen, where all this time he was lodged in the Provost Patrick Leslie's house most honourably. And when he went to horse, he was convoyed with nobles, barons, burgesses, bare-headed for the most part, so highly was he in thir days exalted, little inferior to ane King." He went that night to Dunnotter, promising to return to preside at the great Committee appointed to be held in Aberdeen on the 24th of July. Ere that day arrived, however, the attention of his covenanting Majesty was somewhat distracted by the arrival of one *Allaster MacColl Keitache MacGillespick MacDonald,* with whom we shall presently become familiar.

Such, generally, was the deplorable position of the gallant Gordons, and such the tidings with which Sir William Rollock and Colonel Sibbald returned to our hero, when, about the end of August 1644, he was impatiently abiding in his solitary eyrie among the Grampians, and brooding over his royal commission, which happened at the moment to be his sole and only *materiel.* But his heart failed him not, and his spirit soared as his fortunes seemed to sink. He turned a glance, like the eagle's, to those mountains, and to the land of the Gael. No chieftain, of the purest Highland

breed that ever wore a badge of brakens, was a better mountaineer than the Graham. His own romantic domains, and those of the nobleman who was to him as a father,* had rendered his boyhood familiar with mountain and flood.

> Trained to the chase, his eagle eye
> The ptarmigan in snow could spy;
> Each pass, by mountain, lake, and heath,
> He knew through Lennox and Menteith;
> Right up Ben Lomond could he press,
> And not a sob his toil confess;
> And scarce the doe, though winged with fear,
> Outstripp'd in speed the mountaineer.

He well knew, moreover, the history and peculiar habits of those independent Pictish tribes who had obtained the characteristic appellation of "Redshanks." Disorganized and broken as the Highland clans had become, Montrose could yet appreciate the value of their combined enthusiasm, in such a cause as the support of a Scottish King on his native throne, threatened and shaken by the rebellious power of Argyle. For Charles was as the chief of Scotland, and Mac Cailinmor was the chief of that once inferior race, the vast encroach-

* It is curious to observe the secluded and philosophical Inventor of Logarithms entering into a formal written contract, with Sir James Campbell of Lawers, (father of the Chancellor,) and others, for reciprocal defence and retribution, "in cais it sall happin the said Johnne Napeir of Merchiston, or his tennentis of the lands within Menteith and Lennox, to be trublit or oppressit in the possession of their said landis, or their guidis and geir, violently or be stouth of the name of M'Grigour, or ony utheris heilland broken men." The contract is dated 24th December 1611, and is still preserved in the Napier charter-chest. See *Memoirs of Merchiston*, p. 326. Lord Napier inherited one-fourth of the whole Earldom of Lennox, a co-heiress of which, as also of Rusky in Menteith, he represented; and the present Lord Napier has a competing claim with Haldane of Gleneagles, (the only possible competitors,) for the honours of that ancient Earldom.

ments of whose faitour policy and aggrandizement had done, and was yet doing, so much to destroy the independence of the Highlands. So Montrose, when he found that the chivalry of the Gordons had utterly failed him, and was even turned against the King, still bethought him of those who were wont to rise, and rush like their torrents, at the summons of the cross of fire.

About the time when his companions returned with their bad tidings, an incident occurred which had the electric effect of that summons upon Montrose himself, and very soon hurried him into action. From the shepherds on the mountains, among whom the romantic nights of his concealment were spent, he had gathered vague reports of a predatory descent of some Irish Caterans upon the Isles, and west coast of Scotland. It immediately occurred to him that these might be a portion of the long-looked for army from the Earl of Antrim, and the conjecture was soon realized by a letter secretly placed in the hands of his host. Montrose was at this time understood to be still at Carlisle, and the leader of Antrim's wild and desultory levies, having landed in the west of Scotland upwards of a month before Montrose reached the Grampians, addressed a letter to him at Carlisle, which, as the surest medium of transmission, was brought to his cousin Inchbrakie at Tillebelton, the messenger little knowing how near at hand was the object of that anxious mission.

It was early in the month of July that, to the great consternation of the Covenanting Parliament then sitting, the celebrated Allaster or Alexander Macdonald, so well known in the annals of Montrose's wars by the

corrupted patronymic Colkitto,* descended upon the west coast of Scotland, with a small fleet, and about twelve hundred Scoto-Irish, miserably appointed, being the whole result of the Earl of Antrim's promises at York, and negotiations in Ireland. When it was found impossible to furnish Montrose with the means of penetrating into Scotland, his Majesty had sent new instructions to Antrim, requiring him to co-operate in the north of Scotland with the Royal Lieutenant, Huntly, as also with Seaforth, and others in the western Highlands. For it was expected that the expedition from Ireland would effect a landing before Montrose could enter Scotland. Accordingly, Alaster Macdonald, having disembarked his troops at the point of Ardnamurchan, sent various letters and commissions, with which he was charged, to those who were expected to join him. But he found so little encouragement from any quarter, as to be on the point of betaking himself again to his ships, and returning to Ireland. Huntly, as we have seen, had disbanded his followers and was not to be heard of. The Earl of Seaforth, Lord of Kintail and

* Malcolm Laing calls this Highland hero, "MacDonald of Colkitto." Sir Walter Scott says, "their commander was Alaster Macdonald, a Scoto-Irishman, I believe, of the Antrim family. He was called Coll Kittoch, or Colkitto, from his being left-handed; a very brave and daring man, but vain and opinionative, and wholly ignorant of regular warfare."—*Tales of a Grandfather*. But in a "History of the Western Highlands and Isles of Scotland," by Donald Gregory, Esq. will be found the accurate history of Macdonald's race and name. Coll Keitach MacGillespick Macdonald of Colonsay was the father of Montrose's friend, whose proper name, therefore, was Alaster or Alexander MacColl Keitache (*i. e. son of* Coll Keitache) Macdonald. *Keitache* means left-handed. Coll Keitache, the father of him improperly called Collkittoch, was the grandson of Coll, a brother of James Macdonald of Dunyveg and the Glens, and of the celebrated Sorley Buy Macdonald, who was father of the first Earl of Antrim, and grandfather of Montrose's friend, the first Marquis of Antrim.

chief of the Mackenzies,* whose loyalty had been amply professed, and particularly relied upon, most unexpectedly joined, at this critical juncture, the covenanting party of Sutherland and Forbes, (being married to the daughter of the latter nobleman) instead of declaring for the royal cause, to which his heart inclined. This was a severe blow, for the power of the Mackenzies pervaded the north-west of Scotland, from Ardnamurchan to Strathnaver, and was only second to that of Argyle. Neither was the name of Alaster Macdonald, with all its imposing adjuncts, of sufficient weight to rouse the enthusiastic loyalty of the Highland clans, an achievement reserved for the talisman of the name and presence of Montrose.

But no sooner was there certain intelligence of the invasion, than Argyle projected the destruction of Macdonald's flotilla, which was effected accordingly by a fleet of Scotch and English vessels immediately sent for that purpose, and thus he was left without the means of re-embarking his little army. In the meanwhile, this session of the Scotch Parliament was hurried to a conclusion, and Argyle himself, being commissioned to raise an army at the expence of the Estates, and to go in person to crush the invader, followed him as usual at a respectful distance. Macdonald, thus hemmed in, attacked the country of Argyle, with that desperate bravery for which he was more celebrated than for military talent, and the hereditary feuds of his own family with the Campbells, operated powerfully as a stimulus to his predatory warfare in the western Highlands and Isles. He besieged and took the castle of Mingarry, an ancient residence of the Macdonalds, on the Ardnamurchan coast, and performed a few exploits of the same nature,

* The *Signor Puritano* of "the Plot." See Vol. i. p. 486.

accompanied with their due proportion of fire and sword, from Ardnamurchan to Sky, and from that to Kintail. Disappointed in his hopes of Huntly, Seaforth, and the Macdonalds of Sleat, he attempted to raise Scotland in the name of the King, and of Montrose. To the Committee of Moray, sitting at Alderne, he sent a charge, commanding all manner of men within that country to rise and follow the King's Lieutenant, Montrose, under pain of fire and sword, and this summons he eloquently enforced with the dread symbol of a cross, every point of which was seamed and scathed with fire:

> Woe to the wretch who fails to rear,
> At this dread sign, the ready spear!
> For, as the flames this symbol sear,
> His home, the refuge of his fear,
> A kindred fate shall know;
> Far, o'er its roof, the volumed flame,
> Clan Alpine's vengeance shall proclaim,
> While maids, and matrons, on his name
> Shall call down wretchedness and shame,
> And infamy and woe!

When the covenanting Committee, whose nerves were never of the strongest, received this significant cross, they sent it in haste and terror to the Committee of Aberdeen, who retained it, and the Committee at Edinburgh being apprized of the event, the Estates instantly summoned to arms every man be-north the Grampians, betwixt sixty and sixteen, and required them to be at the various places of rendezvous before the middle of August. While thus in the very jaws of destruction, Macdonald, who had marched into Badenoch, directed to Montrose the despatch which came so fortunately into the hands of Inchbrakie.

Montrose thus learnt, very soon after his arrival at Tillibelton, that every hope he had so rationally derived from the known dispositions of the Gordons, the

Mackenzies, and the Macdonalds, had utterly and most unexpectedly failed. Somewhere in the rear of Alaster Macdonald was Argyle himself with a numerous and well appointed army, while our hero had not even the means of arming, far less of paying, the few miserable wanderers he was called upon to command. But he hesitated not for a moment to share the fate of those whom he had been instrumental in bringing into their present predicament, and the plan he instantly adopted evinced the superiority of a genius that was in itself a host. The Highland clans, with whom the Scoto-Irish were nearly identified in their history and habits, he knew to be capable of extraordinary achievements, if roused by a skilful application to their peculiar propensities. He knew, moreover, that their pursuer, Argyle, with all his vast preponderance of civil, religious, and military power in Scotland, was singularly cautious and slow in his warlike evolutions. Montrose's first idea, then, was to take the Highlanders by surprise, and in a manner that may be called dramatic, so as communicate the electric spark to their ardent and romantic dispositions; and having thus kindled their enthusiasm, he determined instantly to lead them, far in advance of Argyle, where they might destroy in detail the resources and courage of the enemy, by a series of desperate blows and rapid evolutions, calculated at once to strike terror into the Covenanters, and to attract the loyal to the standard of their King and Country. Montrose accordingly answered Macdonald's letter as if he had received it at Carlisle, and instructed him to march into Athol, where the Royal Lieutenant would join him as soon as possible. The rendezvous was well chosen, for it was the district where the oppression of Argyle had been severely felt, and where the most enthusiastic admiration

of Montrose was cherished. Macdonald accordingly laid siege to, and took the Castle of Blair in Athol, some time about the end of August, where he remained for further orders.*

Attired in the garb of the Gael, and attended by his cousin and host, Patrick Graham, younger of Inchbrakie, also in the habit of a mountaineer, Montrose set out on foot to discover himself to the predatory band in Athol, who were looking for his coming under more or less of the imposing and effective insignia of the royal Commission. But in this sudden apparition of the hero, without even the ordinary attendance of a Highland chieftain, the men of Ulster at first perceived only the fine figure of a distinguished-looking Dune Uasal, or, as they might express it when they had learnt to speak good English, a very *pretty man*. But those of Athol and Badenoch, who well knew the Graham, greeted him with enthusiasm amounting to adoration, and the congenial Irish were not slow to appreciate and to share their frantic joy. It was in presence of about twelve hundred Scoto-Irish, slenderly accompanied by the Highlanders who had joined the forlorn hope of MacColl Keitache as he traversed the above districts, that Montrose displayed his commission from Charles the First. When the surrounding scenery, the actors, the occasion, and the results are called to mind, few finer subjects for an historical painting can be conceived than this. And we may be excused if we pause for a moment to consider the precise costume in which Montrose now appeared before them, and instantly led them to victory.

From a work of great ability and research, recent-

* MS. Parl. Record of process of forfeiture against Montrose and his adherents.

ly published on the subject of the antiquities, manners, and customs of the Highlanders of Scotland, we learn that there are three varieties of the Highland dress that can be traced to remote antiquity. "There is thus,"—says our author after a most satisfactory exposition of authorities for the first variety, or dress of the Highland gentleman,—"a complete chain of authorities for the dress of the Highlanders, from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century, having consisted of the Highland shirt stained with saffron, the Breacan or belted plaid, the short Highland coat, and the Cuaran or buskins, and that their limbs from the thigh to the ancle were certainly uncovered."* In illustration of the second variety, or dress of the common people of the Highlands, we may adopt Mr Skene's quotation from Taylor, the water poet, who describes their dress very minutely in 1618: "And in former times were those people which were called Redshanks. † Their habite is shoes with but one sole a-piece; stockings, which they call short hose, made of a warm stuff of divers colours which they call tartane. As for breeches, many of them nor their forefathers never wore any, but a jerkin of the same stuff that their hose is of, their garters being bands or wreaths of hay or straw, with a plaid about their shoulders, which is a mantle of divers colours, much finer or lighter stuff than their hose, with blue flat caps on their heads, a handkerchife knit with two knots about their neck, and thus are they attyred." The third variety was that of the *Truis*, a dress not so ancient (contrary to the general impression,) as the former, but which can be traced back to the year 1538. Mr Skene mentions, that this third variety is thus de-

* Skene's History of the Highlanders of Scotland, Chap. ix.

† See before, Vol. i. p. 459.

scribed in 1678, by Cleland, who wrote a satirical poem upon the expedition of the Highland host:

> " But those who were their chief commanders,
> As such who bore the pirnie standarts,
> Who led the van and drove the rear,
> Were right well mounted of their gear;
> With brogues, trues, and pirnie plaides,
> With good blue bonnets on their heads.
> A slasht out coat beneath her plaides,
> A targe of timber, nails, and hides."

As Dr Wishart only says, that Montrose was—*pedes, et in montano habitu*,—on foot, and in the habit of a mountaineer,—we might be left to conjecture which of these three varieties he had adopted, were it not that other eye-witnesses afford some notices that enable us to picture him very accurately. Spalding records, that Montrose, when he reached the Grampians, was " cled in coat and trewis, on foot." Elsewhere, he thus speaks of the Royal Lieutenant, from ocular inspection of him in Aberdeen : " This Lieutenant was cled in coat and trewis, as the *Irishes* were cled. Ilk ane had in his cap or bonnet ane rip of oats, quhilk was his sign." It is obvious, therefore, that Montrose's costume was the third variety described by Cleland, and that, with admirable tact, while he assumed a dress sufficiently Celtic to please every Highlander, he adopted the modification most likely to take the fancy of the Scoto-Irish. For Mr Skene observes, that, " the truis cannot be traced in the Highlands previous to the sixteenth century, but there is undoubted evidence that it was, from the very earliest period, the dress of the gentry of Ireland. I am inclined, therefore, to think that it was introduced from Ireland." Nor was Montrose without the memorable appendage of " a targe of timber, nails, and hides,"—as we learn from a slight,

but very interesting notice by another eye-witness. Among the original letters and papers of the Duke of Ormonde, printed by Carte, is a manuscript that had been written at Inverlochy in Lochaber, on the 7th of February 1644–5, by an Irish officer of some distinction under Alaster Macdonald.* It gives a short sketch of Montrose's successful career up to that date; and, speaking of his first victory at Perth, the writer says, that his Majesty's forces being utterly destitute of horse, "that day the Marquis of Montrose went on foot himself, with his target and pike."

We may then accurately picture Montrose in the costume which, as appears by the Treasurer's accounts for the year 1538, was worn by James the Fifth of Scotland, when hunting in the Highlands, namely, the tartan *truis*, (or long *hoiss*, which meant the same,) the Highland shirt, the short Highland coat also of tartan, (though probably not upon this occasion of *variant cullorit velvet*, as was King James's,) the plaid thrown over the shoulders, the Scotch bonnet, (with "ane rip of oats," for badge,) the broad sword by his side, the Highland targe upon his arm, and in his hand a pike, or "ane speir of sax elne lang or thereby," an ancient weapon of the Highlanders of Lochaber and Badenoch, which at the time we speak of was still in use among them.

The very day after Montrose declared himself, he was joined by eight hundred men of Athol. To these were added three hundred of Huntly's retainers out of Badenoch, and of the Irish under Macdonald there were at this time three regiments amounting in all to not more than twelve hundred, and these neither possessed of pikes nor swords, indifferently armed with

* It was written for the information of the Marquis of Ormonde, Lord Lieutenant-General of Ireland.

muskets, clubs, and battle-axes, and still worse provided with ammunition. The Highlanders proper were in no better condition. Their weapons were principally broadswords, pikes, and bows and arrows. But a great proportion were without any other weapon than the stones with which, on the plain of Tippermuir, they compelled the panting burgesses of Perth to furnish them with better. As for cavalry, Montrose possessed three horses, which Dr Wishart calls *omnino strigosos et emaciatos*,—altogether skin and bone,—probably the very same whose flesh he had not spared on his way from Carlisle, and which he kept with the army principally for the use of his gallant and faithful companion, Rollock, who had been lame from childhood. Such was the army of Charles the First in Scotland, upon which either Sir James Turner or Sir Dugald Dalgetty would have pronounced that no one, above the condition of a madman, would have dreamt of leading it a mile beyond their own wild fastnesses. But Montrose instantly gave the Royal Standard to the breezes of the Tummel and the Garry—suffered not a doubt of success to enter the minds of his enthusiastic followers, or his own,—and pointing his pike in the direction of Stratherne, where stood his own castle of Kincardine, led on to the pass of Killiecrankie, after just such an oration to his new followers as we may give in the words of one who has entwined his own immortality with Montrose's,—

> When bursts Clan-Alpine on the foe,
> His heart must be like bended bow,
> His foot like arrow free.

## CHAPTER X.

### THE BATTLE OF TIPPERMUIR AND ITS RESULTS.

MONTROSE'S system of tactics, and military capacities in general, have been criticised by some modern historians, anxious to depreciate his character at all points, without, apparently, considering that the art of war was nearly in its rudest state in Britain at the period, and especially so among the too independent marauders from whom he was to derive the desultory and faithless following that constituted his army. Moreover, these critics seem not to have observed, or are pleased to forget, that throughout the whole of his brilliant campaigns, Montrose's resources were so limited and uncertain, that his success seemed to be the result of magic. That magic was his genius. Contemporary writers characterize his unexpected appearance in arms by the romantic simile of the sudden irruption of a *speat*, or mountain torrent. This says more for his military capacity than perhaps these descriptive chroniclers themselves were aware of. Montrose's policy, repeatedly pressed by him in vain, throughout the whole of the year 1643, upon Charles and his consort, was,—instant, determined, and rapid action. 'Strike a blow at once,' he said, 'in Scotland—and let it be a hard one—ere the armies of the Covenant are fairly on foot—and then Scotland is your own.' Such was Montrose's counsel in the Cabinet, and such was his system in the field. To his modern depreciators,

who still call it no system, but the rash proposition of overweening vanity, we reply, that it is comprehended indeed in few words,—and so is the tactic of Napoleon. It may be well doubted, if any one of the great military geniuses of modern times would have offered other counsel than Montrose did at York and Gloucester, or could have offered better under the circumstances. Montrose himself has placed it beyond a question, that had his advice been instantly and fully adopted by the King and the loyal noblemen, the result must have been what he anticipated. But, as if royalty and loyalty had both combined to despite Montrose, at the expence of their own ruin, he was suddenly left alone, to the tardy and perilous experiment of the system he recommended, when the tide, which it was that system to seize, had already been suffered to turn. Yet still he did all but redeem the golden moments lost, and afforded the most brilliant demonstration of his capacity for executing in the field what he had urged in council. Between the 18th and the 22d of August, he achieved the no small adventure of passing from Carlisle to the Grampians in disguise. There he had not the prospect of raising ten men in arms. A few autumn nights he spent among the mountains, wrapped in his Highland plaid, seeking his destiny in the stars, or communing with the unconscious shepherds. A rumour and a letter sufficed to make him be up and doing. On the sixth day from his solitary arrival at Inchbrakie's, he was at the head of about three thousand ragged enthusiasts—ere the tenth was past he had fought a pitched battle of his own seeking—gained, over an army complete in all its parts, a victory that shook the Covenant, and instantly he was master of Perth.

When it was known that the Irish invaders had suddenly descended into the plain of Athol, intelligence soon followed by the yet more startling announcement that Montrose himself was at their head, the Committee of Estates took measures to circumvent their prey. They commanded Lord Drummond, (the same who had been married to Huntly's daughter under the auspices of Argyle,) and the Earl of Tullibardine, to raise Perthshire, and co-operate with Lord Elcho and the covenanting forces of Fife and Angus, by which means, as Argyle was in the rear of the Irish, it was not doubted that Montrose and Macdonald would be hemmed in and destroyed. The covenanting Government also "took order" in this emergency with the malignant district of Menteith, whose young Earl, the Lord Kilpont, they called upon to bring out his father's retainers, and those of Napier, Keir, and others to the west of Perthshire, and to lead them forthwith against the men of Ulster, who were termed the common enemy. Accordingly this young nobleman, with whom were the Master of Maderty, and Sir John Drummond a younger son of the Earl of Perth, very speedily brought to his banner about four hundred followers, principally bowmen, with whom he marched in the direction of Perth, being more anxious, however, to obtain certain intelligence of the position of Montrose than to obey the orders of the Estates.

Montrose meanwhile had commenced his march from Blair Athol, the very day on which the Stewarts, Robertsons, and other clansmen of that district came to his standard. As he passed through the country of the Menzieses, who had harassed his rear and treated ignominiously one whom he sent with a message to the castle of Weeme, he retaliated by wasting their fields,

and burning a few houses in his progress.* By the morning of the 31st of August, however, his whole forces, about 2500, were across the Tay. Inchbrakie, who, at their own particular request, took charge of the Athol men, being sent in advance with some of the most active of those Highlanders, to reconnoitre, returned with the intelligence that a large body of troops were drawn up on the hill of Buchanty, as if to oppose their progress. Montrose marched to meet them, and very soon came in contact with his friends, Kilpont, young Maderty, and Sir John Drummond, who, the moment they understood that he was acting in virtue of the royal commission, joined him with the utmost alacrity. At the same time Montrose learnt that the Covenanters were to rendezvous in great force at Perth, and were preparing to attack him whenever he appeared. Instantly he determined to strike his first blow there, and if possible rout the army of the low country before Argyle arrived, who was at least five days behind him, and in no hurry to come up. On the morning of Sunday, the 1st of September, he commenced his march against Perth in the order thus described by the officer present, who sent the account to the Marquis of Ormonde. "They marched to St Johnston, where the enemy had gathered together 8000 foot and 800 horse, with nine pieces of cannon; his Majesty's army not having so much as one horse; for that day the Marquis of Montrose went on foot himself, with his target and pike; the Lord Kilpont commanding the bowmen, and our General-Major of the Irish forces commanding his three regiments."

* He sent a messenger to request provisions, and other aids to his army, in the name of the King. This was refused, and his messenger ill-treated. Menzies of Weeme was a friend of Argyle's.—See Vol. i. p. 499.

Before eight o'clock that morning, they came in sight of the army of Elcho, drawn up in battle array on the wide plain of Tippermuir, some miles from the town of St Johnston or Perth. The spectacle must have been somewhat startling even to Montrose. From six to eight thousand foot were extended, so as to out-flank his little army, and at either extremity of Elcho's line was placed a division of his cavalry, which in all amounted to seven or eight hundred well-appointed horsemen. There was thus every appearance of his being surrounded, and, moreover, the Covenanters were formidably provided with "the mother of the musket," having nine pieces of artillery in front of their battle. The right wing was commanded by Elcho, the left by Sir James Scott, their stoutest soldier and most experienced officer, the main body by Tullibardine, and at the head of their cavalry was Lord Drummond. The covenanting clergy, too, claimed no small share in the command of this array. They impiously christened it "the army of God," and, in their preparatory devotions of that morning, their most popular preacher, Frederick Carmichael, declared in his sermon, "that if ever God spoke truth out of his mouth, he promised them in the name of God, a certain victory that day."

The modern historian most anxious to depreciate Montrose has upon this occasion complimented him indirectly. "We are told," says Mr Brodie, when recording the battle of Tippermuir, "that the amount of Montrose's force did not much exceed 3000 men; but as his panegyrists ever diminish his numbers, to render his exploits the more marvellous, and so many clans joined him, we can scarcely believe that it was so diminutive." Notwithstanding this sentence, we must state, on the concurring testimony of every con-

temporary chronicler, that such and no more was the amount of Montrose's army. Nor does the evidence rest alone upon his panegyrists. Baillie himself, whom upon all other occasions our historian quotes, is conclusive against his depreciating doubt. He says, in a letter to Spang,—"Some 1500 naked Scots Irish having leaped from isle to isle, till at last getting away through Badenoch, they brake down on Strathearn. The country forces of Fife and Strathearn were three to one,* well armed on Tippermuir, had horse and cannon." And elsewhere, when speaking of the augmentations of Montrose's force, occasioned by the victory, Baillie thus describes the Royal army: "Kinmoul, Maderty, Fintry, Braco, and a number of note, did increase the army; yet they were but a pack of naked runagates, not three horses among them, *few either swords or muskets*."

Montrose arranged his battle with consummate skill. In order to extend his front as far as possible, consistently with any strength, he drew up his whole army in one line of three deep. In the rear he placed the tallest men, who were commanded to stand erect, while the front rank knelt upon one knee, and the intermediate, in a stooping posture, overlooked them. The main body were composed of the Irish Highlanders, because, being neither provided with pikes nor swords, (the bayonet was not then in use,) they would have been too much exposed to the ene-

* *i. e.* Against Montrose. Mr Brodie calls the Irish 1600. But the best contemporary authorities only reckon them at 1500 when they first arrived, and it is said that not more than 1200 came to Montrose. Besides this, he had about 800 men of Athol, 300 from Badenoch, and 400 under Lord Kilpont. Certainly the highest possible estimate of Montrose's force is 3000 foot, three emaciated horses, and no artillery. Our historian evinces a corresponding inclination to under-rate the covenanting forces.

my's cavalry had they been placed on the flanks. Alaster Macdonald commanded them. Lord Kilpont and his bowmen composed the left flank, and Montrose, on foot, with his target and pike, placed himself at the head of the Athol men, who were directly opposed to the most formidable point of the enemy's battle commanded by Sir James Scott. These arrangements being made, our hero sent his own brother-in-law, the Master of Maderty, as a flag of truce to the covenanting chiefs. His mission was to tell them that the Royal Lieutenant was anxious that no blood should be shed, and that he declared solemnly before God he desired neither the places, honours, nor lives of any of his countrymen, but simply to do his duty to his Sovereign : He conjured them, therefore, in the King's name to lay down their arms, and return to their allegiance. The Covenanters were ever famous for disregarding a flag of truce, especially if coming in the name of the King. Young Drummond was instantly made prisoner.*

' Now then,' said Montrose, ' be sparing of your powder,—we have none to throw away. Let not a musket be fired except in the very face of an enemy. Give but a single discharge, and then at them with the claymore, in the name of God and the King.' While the armies were yet only within cannon range of each other, a skirmish took place betwixt some of Lord Drummond's cavalry and a few active Highlanders, probably bowmen, who were sent out to meet the advancing horse. The latter were driven back upon the ranks of the Co-

* By the MS. Parliament Record, it appears that the Master of Maderty was not released until the 21st February 1645, of which date appears an act for his release on payment of two thousand merks, and caution to the amount of twenty thousand merks, that he would not be an enemy to the Estates.

venanters, where they created some confusion, and Montrose, seizing the happy moment, gave the word for his whole line to charge. The cannon began to play upon the advancing loyalists, but with no effect, and not a Highlander this time minded the "musket's mother," more than if it had been the voice of his own. The cavalry charged, but the Highlanders received them on their pikes; those who had no pikes poured in volleies of stones, and the covenanting horse were shamefully routed. The issue was doubtful but for a moment, and that was on the wing where Montrose was engaged with the stout Sir James Scott, who obstinately maintained his battle, and made a desperate struggle to gain the advantage of the rising ground. Well was it then for those who could press up the mountain of Ben-Lomond, "and not a sob the toil confess." Montrose and his "Redshanks," outstripped their competitors in this race like the deer, and came down upon them like the torrent. The rout was now complete. "Although," says the officer from whom we have already quoted, "the battle continued for some space, we lost not one man on our side, yet still advanced, the enemy being three or four to one; however, God gave us the day; the enemy retreating with their backs towards us, that men might have walked upon the dead corps to the town, being two long miles from the place where the battle was pitched. The chase continued from eight o'clock in the morning till nine at night. All their cannon, arms, munition, colours, drums, tents, baggage, in a word, none of themselves nor baggage escaped our hands but their horse, and such of the foot as were taken prisoners within the city."*

* Ormonde Papers.

The most important result, however, was the undisputed possession of Perth, where Montrose obtained arms, clothing, and money for his army. It was the capital of his own district, and in this town, it will be remembered, some four years before, he had endeavoured to explain his political sentiments and views to its clergyman Mr John Robertson, who was afterwards examined as a witness against him by the Committee of Estates.* This reverend gentleman was still minister of Perth, and being one of those who had pledged themselves for the success of "God's army," the covenanting Government, in their dismay and rage at their defeat, appear to have thought of holding the clergymen responsible for the loss that had been sustained. Accordingly the following exquisite defence of the Kirk militant was drawn up by Montrose's old friend, and as it contains the very best account of the battle extant, no apology is necessary for giving the illustration entire.

"*Reasons for the Surrender of Perth.* †

"If Perth be blamed for any thing, it must be either, first, that they did render it at all, or, second, because

* See Vol. i. p. 373–383.

† This is from a contemporary manuscript, preserved by Wodrow, and now in the Advocates' Library, entitled: "Copie of the paper given in by Mr John Robertson, and Mr Geo. Halybirtoun, ministers at Perth." It is curious to contrast this with an entry in Sir James Balfour's notes of the year 1650, when Charles the Second passed through Perth. "Mr George Halybrunton, one of the ministers of the toune, had a prettey *congratulatorey* oration to his Majesty." As for Mr Johne Robertson, he at length met with a commander who was neither so merciful in conquest, nor so condescending in conversation as Montrose. On the first of September 1651, after the Kirk had wreaked its vengeance on Montrose, the

the terms of rendering were not honest and honourable, or, third, because the carriage of the inhabitants was bad after the entry of the enemy.

"As for the first. We could not but render, upon these grounds. 1. The strength of the town was not in their own walls, or inhabitants, but in the army of friends that were in the field, which being shamefully beat, and fully routed, did so exanimate and dishearten the poor inhabitants that they could not exert the very natural act of moving, let be of resolute reason. For that miserable flight was for suddantie and unexpectedness as the clap of judgement. And then 2. a reason of great amazement—for they shall be confounded that trust in the arm of flesh. The trust of the inhabitants was, as the trust of their friends, too, too, great—yea the mean was more looked to than the principal efficient cause. Which self-trust God punished justly both in the one and the other."

"Secondly. Our men were very few, not extending to six score. For we had in the field a company of musketeers, (under Captain Grant, who was there killed,) which for the most part fled, suspecting that the town should become a prey to the enemie's cruelty. Others of the town, confident of the victory, went out

town of Dundee, in which was Mr John Robertson, was taken by storm: "They having refused quarters several times, *Mouncke* commanded all of whatsomever sex to be put to the edge of the sword; there were 800 inhabitants and soldiers killed, and about 200 women and children." Mr Robertson escaped this fate, but, with several other clergymen, was sent off by sea prisoners to England, although he had recommended the authorities not to hold out the town. "Notwithstanding, the collericke and merceyless commander wold not hear them speake one word, in their auen deffence, bot in a rage commandit Mr Jo. Robertsone not to speake one word, wich, if he presumed to doe, he wold *scobe his mouthe*."—*Balfour's Notes.*

to the muir carelessly, and so in the flight by running were made useless. A third part of the town timorously fled at the first report of the enemies' victory. Could the town trust itself to the defence of so few, and so disheartened men?

"Thirdly. Our friends in Fife and Strathearn that came unto us, they were either unwilling or unable to assist us. Their unwillingness *kythed** in this, that all, when they came in at ports, either went to the boats, or to houses out of which no entreaty could draw them. The truth of this is proven; for the Provost of the town, with a minister, going alongst the street with a trumpet, three times, could not, of inhabitants and friends both, make up so many as to guard three ports, let be five, forby† all the walls and posts of the town.

"Whereas its said, or may be said, that the Fifemen offered to assist us. Its truth there were seen twelve, or thereabouts, armless men, and some of them drunk, come to the Provost, in the porch of the Kirk, offering themselves to serve. But such a few number could not be trusted to, so many having feared the enemies' faces before and fled. They were unable who came in, for, first, they were all forefainted and *bursted* with running, insomuch that *nine or ten died that night in town without any wound;* ‡ and, second, an overwhelming fear did take them, that did absolutely disable them from resistance of such a cruel enemy. Their fear kythed in this, that multitudes breaking up cellars did cast themselves down there, expecting the ene-

* *i. e.* Manifested itself.

† *i. e.* Besides.

‡ Baillie confirms this. He says: "A great many burgesses were killed, twenty-five householders in St Andrews, many were bursten in the flight and died without stroke."—*Letter to Spang.*

mies' approach. The Provost came into one house, amongst many, where there were a number lying panting, and desired them to rise for their own defence. They answered, their hearts were away—they would fight no more—although they should be killed. And then, although they had been both willing and stout, yet they were unable to resist, for they had casten all their arms from them by the way, and we in town had none to spare. In town we had no amunition, for Dundee refused them, and that which was got out of Cupar was for the most part had out in carts to the muir. Our enemies, that before the fight were *naked, weaponless, amunitionless,* and *cannonless* men, and so unable to have laid siege to the town, by the flight of our friends were clothed, got abundance of arms, and great plenty of amunition, with six peice of cannon. So, our friends, disarming us and arming our enemies, enabled them and disenabled us. If our friends had not come and fled at our ports, and forsaken us, we would, with the assistance of honest men about, defended ourselves. The Master of Balmerino, and the Laird of Moncrieff, can witness the town's resolution the Friday before the fight, when we were alone. For then we would expected help from Fife, and Angus, and Strathearn, in twenty-four hours, to have raised the seige ; but after the fight and flight, we were out of all hopes. For, on the north, Athol was an enemy. On the east, Angus, on the report of the defeat disbanded, or at least a few of them fled to Dundee. For Fife, they were so disbanded that there was little hope of a sudden levy. For my Lord Marquis of Argyle, we knew not if he was come from the Highlands or not.* And so this proved. For the

* My Lord Marquis of Argyle was taking it leisurely, having no stomach for fighting. Baillie's apologetic notice of his motions at this

first friends that we saw was the eleventh day after the dismal fight. If so few faint-hearted men, without meat and drink, (of which the town was very scarce,) could have staid so long against so many cruel desperate enemies, let the reasonable judge. The *hounds of Hell* were drawn up before our ports, newly—deeply bathed in blood, routed with hideous cries for more, and in the meantime there abode not one gentleman of Fife to give us counsel, save one who is an useless member amongst themselves at home, and consequently could not but be useless to us. Neither a gentleman of our own shire save Balhousie. So, exanimate with fear,* and destitute of counsel, we could not stand out. After the sight, and serious consideration of thir reasons, and of the miserable consequents of outstanding, being so unable, as, namely, the razing of the city, the loss of all our means, and the cruel massacre of our own persons, we began to think upon a surrender of the city, if in any terms we could have our conscience and our Covenants preserved entire. If any ways the enemy would meddle with these, the *ministers* gave counsel to lose life and all, which was accorded to by all the town-council, as may appear by the town's letter of answer to Montrose's demand.

"So to the next point. Being by strength of reason and extreme necessity urged to render, we thought on articles to propone, which not being satisfied we all resolved to die before we gave over. In the meantime, a letter came from Montrose, desiring us to join in ser-

time is very amusing. Alluding to Alaster Macdonald's march into Athol to meet Montrose, he says: "Argyle after he had learnt the way whither the *miscreants* had run, followed *as armed men might*, which was four or five days journey behind them."

* Fear is a novel defence against a charge of cowardice.

vice to his Majesty. We answered, if by joining in service he meant all that civil obedience that did tie our free subjects to be performed, we would join with all good subjects. But if by joining he meant to encroach upon our consciences, and to make us break any point of our Covenants, we would not join with him, nor any, lest by so doing God should be highlier provoked and moved to bring down a heavier judgement than he had done that day on us. The articles proponed with the answer wer thir five.

" 1. That our town and parish should not be urged with any thing against their conscience, especially against their two Covenants. 2. That the town should not be plundered or rifled, neither the adjacent landward. 3. That in all things we should be used as free subjects, and so that none of our men should be pressed. 4. That no Irishes should get entry or passage through our town. 5. That all our good friends and neighbours in town should have a pass safely to go to their own homes. The honesty of thir articles may be proven by the first article—the honourableness of them by the rest. It's honesty to adhere to our Covenant and honour, *being not able to do otherwise*, to keep ourselves and friends free of skaith, and give our enemy no full entry.* Look what hath been called honest and honourable capitulations in the like cases of rendering abroad, and we in thir articles shall not be found *far short* of them.

" As for the third point, the gesture and carriage of the town towards the enemy. If by the town be meant the *ministers*, they are here, let them be tried. If by

* This is Falstaff's idea of honour,—who loved not " such grinning honour as Sir Walter hath."

the town be meant the *magistrates*, they did show no countenance, either welcoming them, eating or drinking with them. If by the town be meant the *body*, welcomes were so far that we wish to God the voice of such joy be never heard in the streets of Edinburgh. We may boldly say, in the face of any will say the contrary, that consider the number and our weeping was as great as lamentings of Achor's valley. We will be bold to say it was the saddest day that ever the town did see, and that enemy the saddest sight, nay it was to them as the very sight of the executioner on the scaffold. If by the town be meant particular men, we cannot be answerable for every particular man's carriage. If any man can found, let these be tried and punished for being so unnatural. The hearts of none we know, but the outward carriage of all our town was humble, demisse, sad, and sorrowful, very far from the expressions of any joy.

"Two things are proponed to be considered. 1. Whether the rendering of the *field* or the *town* was most disgraceful and prejudicial to the cause and country. The town was rendered,—not being able for the former reasons to stand out,—upon honest and honourable capitulation. The field was rendered,—having two to one, of which many horse and good cannon,—by a shameful groundless tergiversation. 2. The town's rendering, being unable to stand out, saved the effusion of much blood. For being unable, and yet stand out, we should have been accessory to our own massacre. But the field's render was the cause of much blood, ten only being killed standing, and all the rest fleeing, so that being able to stand, and yet fled, they seem to be accessory to much blood they might have saved. The town's rendering was the very immediate necessary ef-

fect of the field's rendering. Let any man, having considered this, infer the conclusion.

"Again, let the events of rendering and not rendering the town be compared, and see which should have been most hurtful to the cause and country. By rendering, not being able to stand, we kept our cause and Covenant unviolate. We kept our city, we kept our lives, and our means for maintainance of the cause and country in time coming.* By withstanding, being so unable, the country had lost a city, a number of poor souls, men, women, and babes, with all their fortunes and means. Was it not better, then, to have rendered with such honesty, than to have resisted with such certainty of danger?

"As for that the town held in their friends to be captived. It's true, for a little while they were detained; but how soon we saw it impossible to stand out, we let all our boats pass, and Fife men with other men so thronged, that sundry were drowned, both horse and foot. Our boats passed that night till eleven hours at evening. Our port we could not open, neither could they pass. For the cruel dogs were even hard at the Inch, and had a company betwixt that and the bridge, waiting the massacre of such as we should let out. Its apparent, if we should have let out the Fife men, and they been killed between the town and the bridge, that they should have said in Fife, that we would not harbour them, but chase them out to the slaughter. God judge us according to the charity some of us showed to them."

* The reverend gentleman had the more merit in this argument, that the celebrated metrical version of it was not yet written, namely,

He that runs may fight again,
Which he can never do that's slain.

The Reverend Robert Baillie, in one of his letters, imputes the disaster to the "villany of Lord Drummond," * and in another, he assigns "Elcho's rashness" (with three to one!) as a cause. Certainly the merit of Montrose in this achievement was not that of having carried off the palm from a hard fought field. But the observation of his modern calumniator, namely, that "his panegyrists forget, that the utter worthlessness of the opposite troops bereaves him of all glory in vanquishing them," † is unworthy of that historian's penetration and reflective powers. The laurel acquired by mere physical exertion in the hour of strife, or the most skilful manœuvre on the field of battle, is insignificant by comparison with that which may be claimed for Montrose upon this occasion. An array of six or seven thousand completely appointed troops, flanked by cavalry in proportion, and covered by cannon, must no doubt be considered utterly worthless if routed by three thousand half-armed and half-naked runagates. The glory was not in the act of vanquishing them, but in making the experiment with such

* Baillie says that Lord Drummond "exhorted" those whom he commanded to flee, when on the point of joining battle, "according as by his letters he had appointed the night before." Mr Brodie eagerly seizes this statement which, however, is improbable, and Baillie is bad authority, when his covenanting blood is up, for facts against his enemies. If Lord Drummond had been so determined to aid Montrose, he would have gone over to him at once, as his brother Sir John Drummond had done. Undoubtedly Lord Drummond's heart was with the royal cause, and probably he made no efforts to redeem the day for the Covenanters; but he was under the influence of Argyle, and both of his brothers-in-law, Lord Gordon and Lord Lewis, also held commands at this time under Argyle. I cannot find Mr Brodie's authority for saying that Lord Drummond went over to Montrose immediately after this victory. Bishop Guthrie records that Drummond did not join Montrose until after the battle of Kilsyth.

† Mr Brodie, Vol. ii. p. 532.

means, and putting their worthlessness to the test. Can the man of his times be named, besides Montrose, who would have made that experiment, and with the same success? Would the same result have happened if Montrose had commanded the Covenanters? But Montrose's praise is not merely in the desperate bravery of that experiment. He had made his reflections upon the character of the Highlanders, he extracted new resources from the fleet-footed mountaineer, and, in a few days after he had placed himself at the head of but a sorry specimen of a Clan Alpine gathering, he struck a blow that is unrivalled by any thing performed in the adventure for the Stewart dynasty in the following century. Long ere the battle of Preston was gained, in "the forty-five," the Highlander had been well proved. But Montrose had to derive his hopes of him from such a field as Harlaw,—where the flower of the Gael, under Donald of the Isles, fell in bloody and irretrievable defeat before inferior numbers of the lowland gentry of Aberdeenshire and the Mearns; or Corrichie,—where the Gordons dashed themselves in vain against the phalanx of the Southern; or Glenlivet,—where, in their mountain fastnesses, and upon their native heather, the Highlanders of Argyle, at a time when their chief was no coward, and commanded them in name of the King, were utterly routed by the rebel lowland cavalry of Huntly and Errol.

Sir Walter Scott, both in his histories and his legend of Montrose, points out the progress of that revolution, in the history of the Scots, which gradually transformed the warlike lowlander, and steel-clad burgher, of a former century, into country clowns and puffy townsmen, while the mountaineer retained his weapons, and his invigorating habits, and became pro-

portionally improved in the exercise of both. This unquestionably will in a great measure account for the defeat before Perth of a lowland force still further morally deteriorated by that vicious (though sometimes successful) ingredient, in the organization of all covenanting armies, which *kythed* in Elcho's by its impious appellation of the "army of God." * But, at the same time, it must not be forgotten, that justly as Montrose himself appreciated the relative value, in the year 1644, of loyal caterans from Badenoch, and covenanting troops from Fife, he had not to carry his recollection so far back even as Glenlivet for an instance where the Gael had been disgraced in collision with the Southern. We have already had occasion to notice, that in 1639 a thousand Highlanders—commanded indeed by traitor Gun instead of Montrose—fled like sheep before Montrose himself, (at the head of an inferior force drawn out of the very lowland districts that furnished the army of Elcho,) and sought safety in the centre of a morass from a very slight administration of the "musket's mother."

It was the genius of Montrose, then, which first illustrated that peculiar chivalry, and gave the impulse which rendered the rush of the tartan, and the flash of the claymore, so formidable in the same cause for a century thereafter, and memorable for ever.

* There is a sentence in a letter from Arthur Trevor to the Marquis of Ormonde, written shortly after the battle of Marston Moor, which serves to illustrate the accidental reputation acquired by the covenanting arms in England: "The Scots are still before Newcastle; their number is not great, nor is their fame in arms terrible; the Scotch mystery being of late much revealed in those and other parts of this kingdom."

## CHAPTER XI.

SHEWING THAT THE COVENANTERS WERE MORE ADDICTED TO ASSASSINATION THAN WAS MONTROSE.

It was the fate of Montrose to have the valuable fruits of each successive victory snatched from his grasp as soon as earned. The blow he had struck came too late, for Scotland was now so completely under the promoters of the Covenant, that much more was necessary in order to encourage the loyalists to unite in any decided or very formidable manner. And besides, the clansmen upon whom Montrose had been thrown possessed other qualities which eventually more than counterbalanced to him their best achievements. It was the well-known characteristic of that Highland chivalry to return to their homes with the spoils of each victory, instead of following out a system of warfare calculated, by combining the whole, to give its full political value to each successive advantage. Before Montrose could fight another battle a great proportion of the Athol men took at least temporary leave of him, in pursuance of their hereditary habits, and without an idea that by so doing they infringed a single rule of the military profession, or lost a point in the warlike game they had so happily commenced. And even before their departure an event occurred which not only deprived Montrose of another valuable section of his little army, but clouded for ever his recollections of Tippermuir. Lord Kilpont, after escaping the perils of that day, and contribut-

ing so much to its success, was murdered within Montrose's own camp, by James Stewart of Ardvoirlich, himself the familiar friend of Kilpont, and who had joined Montrose along with him. The circumstances of this sad catastrophe have been hitherto vaguely and somewhat variously told by the contemporary chroniclers. Recently, however, an imposing family tradition of the matter, coming from the most respectable quarter, has taken the place of the original version afforded by Dr Wishart, whom that tradition leaves very nearly in the position of a malicious fabricator. It is necessary, therefore, to illustrate, from authentic records, this interesting and influential occurrence in the outset of Montrose's victories, and, if possible, to strike a just balance betwixt the contemporary chronicle, and the family tradition.

Dr Wishart, who, from his intimacy with Montrose, must have been at least as well-informed on the subject as our hero himself, narrates, that the latter having remained three days at Perth, in the vain expectation of being immediately joined by all the loyal noblemen and gentlemen of the country, crossed the Tay, and encamped in the open fields near Cupar, in Angus, not feeling himself strong enough to await in Perth the arrival of Argyle with his superior forces. This was about the fifth of September. Next morning, by break of day, ere the drums beat for their march, his attention was called to an uproar in the camp, which he supposed to be occasioned by a quarrel betwixt the Highlanders and the Irish. Casting himself into the midst of the tumult, in order to quell dissension in his camp, he was arrested by the horrible spectacle of the mangled body of Lord Kilpont, weltering in his blood. "The villain," says Wishart, "who had assassinated

him, was one Stewart, * a vassal of Kilpont's, whom this young nobleman had treated with the greatest familiarity and friendship, insomuch, that that very night they had slept together under the same tent. It was alleged that this abandoned wretch had resolved to murder Montrose himself, and, trusting to his great influence with Lord Kilpont, had conceived hopes of prevailing on him to become an associate in the villany, and drawing him to a solitary spot had disclosed the plot, which Kilpont very naturally regarded with detestation. The murderer, dreading discovery, suddenly turned upon his patron, and, taking him unawares, who little suspected such an attack from his familiar, put him to death with repeated wounds. The treacherous assassin, killing the camp sentinel in his way, effected his escape, through darkness so thick that the soldiers could scarcely see the length of their spears. Some said the traitor had been bribed to the act by the covenanting Government, others, that the hope of reward alone had induced him. Be that as it may, there is no question, that to this very day he is in great favour with them, and that Argyle took the earliest opportunity of raising him to a high rank in his army, though a man of no military capacity."

Sir Walter Scott, in his introduction to a Legend of Montrose, when narrating the incident upon which his tale is founded, refers to Bishop Guthrie's assertion, that the murder was perpetrated because Lord Kilpont had rejected with abhorrence a proposal of Ardvoirlich's to assassinate Montrose; and he very properly

* It is almost unnecessary to notice, that this was James Stewart of Ardvoirlich, the romantic circumstances of whose own birth, after the murder of his maternal uncle, Drummond of Drummondernoch, by the Macgregors, are so familiar to the readers of Sir Walter Scott.

adds, " that it does not appear that there is any authority for this charge, which rests on mere suspicion. Ardvoirlich, the assassin, certainly did fly to the Covenanters, and was employed and promoted by them. He obtained a pardon for the slaughter of Lord Kilpont, confirmed by Parliament in 1644, and was made major of Argyle's regiment in 1648. Such are the facts of the tale, here given as a Legend of Montrose's wars."

But while the author of Waverley had in the press the latest edition of his legend, he received a new version of the story, in a letter from Robert Stewart, Esq. Younger of Ardvoirlich, which is added as a postscript to the introduction. The work being in the hands of every person, we may take the liberty of abridging here the substance of that interesting letter.

A natural son of the James Stewart who slew Kilpont, named John, and celebrated under the title of *John dhu Mhor*, was (says the tradition) with his father at the time, and, it is inferred, witnessed the whole transaction. He lived, it is said, till a considerable time after the Revolution. This *John dhu Mhor's* grandson was a man before the death of the former, and obtained all the particulars from his grandfather. The grandson himself lived to the age of 100, and, " many years ago" narrated the particulars to Mr Stewart, now of Ardvoirlich, father of Sir Walter Scott's correspondent. The particulars are these : James Stewart, complained to Montrose, after having joined him, that Alaster Macdonald had committed some excesses on his, Ardvoirlich's, property, in their march to Blair Athol. Montrose, anxious to conciliate, evaded the complaint. Stewart challenged Macdonald to single combat, and Mon-

trose, on the information and by advice, it is said, of Kilpont, placed them both under arrest, and, to avoid the fatal effect of feuds in his camp, made them shake hands in his presence. Ardvoirlich, a man of violent passions and gigantic strength, retained his enmity, but went through the ceremony of reconciliation by squeezing the hand of Coll Keitache's son until the blood burst from his fingers. Some days after the battle of Tippermuir, as the army lay encamped at Collace, Montrose gave an entertainment to his officers, at which were Kilpont and Ardvoirlich. The two last returned to their quarters together, and Macdonald "being heated with drink" blamed Kilpont, and reflected on Montrose for not allowing him what he considered proper reparation. The parties came to high words, "and finally, from the state they were both in, by an easy transition, to blows, when Ardvoirlich, with his dirk, struck Kilpont dead on the spot. He immediately fled, and under the cover of a thick mist escaped pursuit, leaving his eldest son Henry, who had been mortally wounded at Tippermuir, on his deathbed. His followers immediately withdrew from Montrose, and no course remained for him but to throw himself into the arms of the opposite faction, by whom he was well received."

Such is the substance of Mr Stewart's communication, which that gentleman assures us has been the constant tradition in the family, and, it must be admitted, no evidence coming under the name of tradition can be more plausible or respectable than this.

The discrepancy, betwixt the contemporary chronicles and the Ardvoirlich tradition, is after all not of much consequence to the character of James Stewart.

But in a historical point of view, as illustrative of the Covenant and its machinery, it is of importance to know whether the murder in question was the sudden and isolated act of Ardvoirlich's passion, totally unconnected with the policy of Argyle, or whether it may not be traced home to that Government, as an instance of what they termed "good service to the country," and for which rewards were held out, and protection afforded.

Before noticing the records that test the accounts hitherto given, we must advert to a circumstance overlooked in Mr Stewart's letter, namely, that Wishart is not the only chronicler of the period who tells the story against Ardvoirlich. Bishop Guthrie does so even more circumstantially than the former. He mentions that the murder was perpetrated at Collace, and by James Stewart of Ardvoirlich; that the Earl of Menteith had often warned his son to shake off the companionship of Ardvoirlich, and not be ruled by him in all his affairs; that it was even by the direction and allowance of this man that Kilpont joined Montrose, but that he, Ardvoirlich, afterwards repented of that step, and determined to recommend himself to the other party by taking the life either of Montrose or Allaster Macdonald; and that having communicated his scheme to Kilpont, and the latter rejecting it with horror, he stabbed him to the heart, and instantly fled to Argyle, who protected and promoted him.

The printed table of the private acts of the covenanting Parliament affords the fact, mentioned by Sir Walter Scott in the passage we have quoted from his introduction, that a *pardon*, obtained by James Stewart from the Committee of Estates for the murder in question, was ratified in the Parliament 1645. This of itself justifies a suspicion that the deed was grateful

to the covenanting Government, and that Ardvoirlich knew well enough it would be so. But in the original MS. Record of those parliamentary proceedings, to which we already had occasion to refer as having been recently discovered in London,* the circumstances of the murder of Lord Kilpont are thus stated :

" 1. March, 1645. Ratification of James Stewart's pardon for killing of the Lord Kilpont.

" Forsameikle as umquhile John Lord Kilpont, being employed in public service in the month of August last, against James Graham, then Earl † of Montrose, the Irish rebels and their associates, did not only treasonably join himself, but also treasonably trained a great number of his Majesty's subjects, about four hundred persons or thereby, who came with him for defence of the country, to join also with the saids rebels, of the which number were James Stewart of Ardvoirlich, Robert Stewart his son, Duncan M'Robert Stewart in Balquhidder, Andrew Stewart there, Walter Stewart in Glenfinglass, and John Growder in Glassinserd, friends to the said James, who *heartily thereafter repenting of his error* in joining with the saids rebels, and abhorring their cruelty, ‡ *resolves with his said friends* to forsake

* See p. 33.

† In the same MS. Records are two separate processes of forfeiture, instituted 12th October 1644, and directed against Montrose and his noble adherents, one for the exploits in the south, when Dumfries, Morpeth Castle, and the fort on the Tyne (called the south Sheills, and commanded by Captain Thomas Rutherford,) were taken, and another for those in the north, commencing with the taking of the Castle of Blair in Athol, and ending with the taking of Aberdeen. From the minute details afforded by these processes, I have been enabled to trace Montrose's exploits both in England and Scotland, to the taking of Aberdeen inclusive. They confirm generally the accounts both of Wishart and Guthrie.

‡ Yet it appears that Ardvoirlich committed three murders in his way out of Montrose's camp. But the expression " abhorring their

their wicked company, and *imparted this resolution* to the said umquhile Lord Kilpont. But he, out of his malignant dispositions, opposed the same, and fell in struggling with the said James, who *for his own relief* was forced to kill him at the *Kirk of Collace*, with two Irish rebels who resisted his escape, and so removed happily *with his said son and friends*, and came *straight to the Marquis of Argyle*, and offered their service to their country: Whose carriage in this particular being considered by the Committee of Estates, they by their act of the tenth of December last, find and declare that the said James Stewart *did good service to the kingdom* * in killing the said Lord Kilpont, and two Irish rebels foresaid, being in actual rebellion against the country, and *approved of what he did therein:* And in regard thereof, and of the said James his son and friends retiring from the said rebels and joining with the country, did fully and freely pardon them for their

cruelty" is the usual style of the Covenanters, who invariably endeavoured to strengthen the particular case by opprobrious epithets, such as "the damnable band,"—"that bloody and excommunicated traitor James Graham," &c. Even in narrating the battles of Tippermuir and Aberdeen, in the processes of forfeiture, against Montrose, the expressions used are, "did enter into ane cruel combat and conflict with the said forces of the Estates of this kingdom, and with others his Majesty's good subjects, and cruelly killed and *murdered* many of them upon the fields," &c. So, according to the covenanting doctrine, armed rebels killed in battle, by soldiers fighting in virtue of the royal Commission, and under the royal standard, were cruelly murdered. But to strike a dagger into the heart of a comrade, when he least expected it, was "good service to the kingdom."

* Lord Gordon at this time was with the army of Argyle. Suppose that in *repenting of his error* he had killed say the Earl of Seaforth, under the same circumstances that Ardvoirlich killed Lord Kilpont, and then made his escape to the royal army; and that Charles the First, and his privy council, had come to the same decision on the matter as did Argyle and the Committee in the former case,—what would have been the views of that conduct taken by contemporary covenanting chroniclers, and modern covenanting historians?

said joining with the rebels and their associates, or for being any ways accessory actors, art and part of and to any of the crimes, misdeeds, or malversations done by themselves or by the rebels and their associates, or any of them, during the time they were with the said rebels ; and declares them free, in their persons, estates, and goods, of any thing can be laid to their charge therefore, or for killing the Lord Kilpont and two Irish rebels foresaid, in time coming."

The act of Committee proceeds to prohibit all judicatories and judges whomsoever, from any attempt to bring the parties to justice, or entertain the case against them in any shape, and the Parliament taking all this into their special consideration, "and acknowledging the equity thereof," confirms and ratifies the same in favour of James Stewart, his son, and his other friends named.

This melancholy and disreputable process proves, to a certain extent, beyond question the nature of Ardvoirlich's crime. The murderer tells the story, for himself and his accomplices, to his patron and protector Argyle, and that story is given in the act of the Argyle Committee of course according to the version most favourable for those protected. It was not, as the family tradition has it, a sudden act of passion in consequence of the provocation of a blow, or the violence of a casual dispute when the parties were excited by wine. There was a deliberate proposal made to Lord Kilpont, the tendency of which was to ruin Montrose, and this Kilpont rejected because of his malignancy, in other words his loyalty. There was a struggle, and Stewart for his own "relief" was forced to kill his friend. Such is the story told by the murderer himself, and it even excludes the notion of a sudden duel, or that the young nobleman had any opportunity of defending himself with his weapons, for

any such favourable feature in the case would certainly have been expressly mentioned. The ratification corroborates the contemporary chroniclers in proportion as it destroys the family tradition. We are not to take the word of Ardvoirlich, or of Argyle, or of Argyle's Committee, for the precise proposition made to the unfortunate nobleman who was sacrificed. It is not at all unlikely to have been a proposition to destroy Montrose. That Ardvoirlich was capable of making such a proposition is not too much to suppose of one who that night murdered his most intimate friend, and massacred two sentinels in making his escape. That what he did propose was something very desperate is sufficiently proved by the bloody catastrophe consequent upon Kilpont's rejection of it. This at least is proved by the murderer's own story, that Kilpont was urged to go over to Argyle, that he refused, that there was a struggle, and that he was slaughtered in consequence, there being along with Ardvoirlich at the time his son, and four friends, who considered themselves accomplices in the deed, and to whom the pardon extends.* The most plausible inference is, that upon Kilpont's rejection of the proposition, whatever that might be, an attempt was made to carry him off by force from a solitary spot to which he had been led, and that a struggle having ensued, and the attention of the sentinels attracted, Ardvoirlich settled the matter with his dirk.

* The fact of Ardvoirlich's son and four friends being with him, and making their escape at the same time, is new, not being alluded to either by the contemporary writers, or in the family tradition. It is material to observe, also, that the fact which gives the greatest plausibility to the family tradition, namely, that *John dhu Mhor*, Ardvoirlich's natural son, from whom the traditionary version is derived, was with his father at the time, is not confirmed by the Parliamentary ratification. Neither does that record say any thing of Henry Stewart mentioned in the tradition; but this latter circumstance is unimportant.

It is of little consequence, in reference to the character of the covenanting Government, whether the deed was perpetrated in consequence of a bribe, or in the hope of a reward. Their own record expressly admits that the foul murder of this young nobleman was most grateful to them, and considered *good service*, and that the guilty men knew this beforehand is proved by their going straight to Argyle. If there was no previous bribe, the act of ratification was at least of the nature of a bribe to others. And this mode of bribery had indeed been held out to Ardvoirlich himself, as the following anecdote will serve to show.

In the raid we have elsewhere mentioned, committed by young Irving of Drum, Nathaniel Gordon, and other followers of Huntly upon the town of Montrose,* Alexander Irving of Kincousie was an actor, and, Huntly's followers being disbanded, he dared not show himself, and was obliged to take his rides in the night-time. Coming thus quietly to Aberdeen, on the night of Saturday 17th August 1644, (a few weeks before the murder of Kilpont,) he was encountered by William Forbes, a natural son of Forbes of Leslie. Forbes tried to seize Irving, for the sake of the price of his apprehension, offered by the Committee of Estates, which was five thousand merks. "Kincousie (says Spalding,) being a fine gentleman, stormed to be taken by the like of him," and thus expressing himself to Forbes, the latter drew a pistol and shot him, completing his work by two cruel strokes on the head. Four days after this murder Forbes was brought before the Committee at Aberdeen, and being a volunteer in the troop of Forbes of Craigievar, it was found and declared that the murderer had *done good service to the public.*

* P. 279.

Thereafter, on the fourth of September, a day or two before the murder of Lord Kilpont, a proclamation of the Committee of Estates was issued at the cross of Aberdeen, again declaring that the deed of William Forbes was *good and loyal*, and prohibiting all the lieges from saying any thing against it, " but laudibly to praise and approve the same in all places and conferences, as occasion do offer, under great pains. Yet the godly had their own *thoughts*." The reward was also assigned to this murderer.*

There can be no question then, that it was the system of the covenanting Government, in other words, of Argyle, not merely to afford protection to those who assassinated any distinguished adherent of the cause of royalty, but to hold out premiums, and to confer rewards for such deeds. It is also unquestionable, upon the evidence adduced, that whoever had assassinated Montrose at this time, would have been received with open arms by Argyle, and publicly complimented and rewarded, however mean and atrocious the manner of perpetrating the act. Nor was it from the pulpits of the covenanting Church that the people would learn that such deeds were an offence in the sight of God. The Reverend Robert Baillie thus comments upon the incident we have illustrated : " Kilpont's treachery is *revenged* by his death, *justly inflicted*." †

* Forbes did not escape the just reward of his crime, however; for after the Restoration he was hanged for the same. At the time it was considered a judgment upon him, that, the year after he shot Alexander Irving, he blew his own hand off with a musket.

† Letter to Spang dated 25th October 1644.

## CHAPTER XII.

HOW MONTROSE DEFEATED BURLEIGH AT ABERDEEN, REPULSED ARGYLE AND LOTHIAN AT FYVIE, BAFFLED THEM AT STRATHBOGIE, CHASED ARGYLE FROM INVERARY, AND DESTROYED HIM AT INVERLOCHY.

Montrose was deeply affected by the death of his friend Lord Kilpont, the consequences of which were as severe upon his enterprise as the perpetrators had anticipated. Repeatedly he embraced the lifeless body, and with sighs and tears relinquished it to the followers of this hapless chief, to be carried home to his parents, and the tombs of his ancestors. * Thus, besides the men of Athol who returned to deposit their spoil, the best part of four hundred of his most efficient men departed from the Royal Lieutenant even in the hour of victory. It was with a diminished force of less than two thousand followers, of whom a small proportion were cavalry,† and some field-pieces taken at Tippermuir, that he again found himself in front of an enemy, not many days after having destroyed the army of Elcho. In

* Dr Wishart says, that to Montrose Kilpont was endeared as "a man famous for arts and arms and honesty, being a good philosopher, a good divine, a good lawyer, a good soldier, a good subject, and a good man."

† Dr Wishart says that when Montrose marched upon Aberdeen, he had just 1500 foot, and 44 horse. Spalding over-rates his forces at 3000 foot, and 8 score horse, probably not making allowance for the departure of a great proportion of the Athol men, and the followers of Lord Kilpont. Bishop Guthrie says, that Montrose gained the battle of Aberdeen with foot scarce 1600, and of horse 44. In the account sent to the Marquis of Ormonde, it is said, "we had then about 80 horse," but the number of foot are not mentioned.

the meanwhile he had marched through Angus and the Mearns, to give all in that quarter who were loyally inclined an opportunity of joining him. In vain he endeavoured to redeem Marischal from the influence of Argyle, by sending to him at Dunnotter a letter explaining the object of the present expedition, and inclosing one from the King to that Earl. But the old Earl of Airly, and his gallant sons, Sir Thomas and Sir David Ogilvy, (Lord Ogilvy being still a prisoner,) came instantly to the Standard, which they ever continued to support, with a fearless patience and unshrinking fidelity only second to Montrose's. To these were added others of the loyal names of Ogilvy and Graham, and a few lowland noblemen and gentlemen whose intentions were better than their military means, or, as it proved, than their capacities for enduring such fatigue and privations as the miraculous achievements of this little army involved. But the most efficient aid now brought to it was in the person of Montrose's old opponent in the north, Colonel Nathaniel Gordon, followed by about thirty well appointed horsemen.

By this time another covenanting lord had assembled an army, which was also expected to destroy Montrose. Lord Burleigh having summoned the northern Covenanters, and rallied the scattered remnants of the Fife regiments defeated at Perth, now occupied Aberdeen with a force of about 2500 foot, 300 horse, and some artillery. Montrose, notwithstanding his own diminished forces, did not hesitate to meet him, and on the thirteenth of September utterly routed Lord Burleigh at the expence of little loss to the royal army, and great slaughter of the Covenanters. Upon this occasion, however, the slaughter was not confined to the battle,

and pursuit in the fields. The citizens of the unfortunate town of Aberdeen suffered dreadfully within its walls. But the circumstances require some illustration, because to the alleged appetite of Montrose for such scenes of blood and cruelty, have the sufferings in question been clamorously imputed by his enemies, while his admirers have but coldly defended him from as gross a calumny as any that affects his memory. "Montrose," says Sir Walter Scott, "necessarily gave way to acts of pillage and cruelty which he could not prevent, because he was unprovided with money to pay his half-barbarous soldiery. Yet the town of Aberdeen had two reasons for expecting better treatment; first, that it had always inclined to the King's party; and secondly, that Montrose himself had, when acting for the Covenanters, been the agent in oppressing for its loyalty, the very city which his troops were now plundering on the opposite score." This defence of Montrose is just, so far as it extends; but it is too slight, and the implied reproof is unmerited, as we proceed to illustrate.

With no inclination to oppress or inflict pain upon any individual, if without doing so the armies of the Covenant could be dispersed, and the country redeemed from rebellion, Montrose crossed the Dee on the 11th of September. That night, after having summoned the Laird of Leys to surrender, with a bonhommie the very antipodes of Argyle's conduct on such occasions, he transformed his enemy into his host, by supping in his house, and though he took from thence some arms and horses, he nobly refused a sum of money proffered to him by Sir Thomas Burnet. * On the following day

* "The Lieutennand (Montrose) himself, with his gaird, soupit with

Montrose encamped within two miles of Aberdeen, and next morning, being Friday the 13th, he sent a drummer with a flag of truce, and a commissioner with a letter to the magistrates, in which he required them to allow peaceable entry to the Royal Lieutenant, that he might issue his Majesty's proclamations, and refresh his troops for a day. Assurance was added that no injury would be done to the town, or its inhabitants, unless he was compelled to force an entrance, in which case Montrose warned them to remove all aged men, women, and children to places of safety, and take the peril on themselves. "The magistrates," adds Spalding, "caused the commissioner and drummer drink hardly." The result will be best told in the following extract from the town-council records, yet extant in Aberdeen.

"It is to be remembered, but never without regret, the great and heavy prejudice and loss which this burgh did sustain by the cruel and bloody fight, and conflict which was fought betwixt the Crabstane and the Justice Mylne's, upon the thirteenth day of September instant, betwixt eleven hours, before noon, and one afternoon, occasioned by the approaching of James Marquis of Montrose, with three regiments of Irishes, and [blank] of Atholmen, Stratherne men, and some others their adherents. The said James Marquis of Montrose having required the town to be delivered up to him, and having sent a Commissioner with a drummer for that ef-

the Laird of Leyis efter he had summoned him to render his house. He did no harm, but took some arms and horse, and promise of some men. Leyis offered him 5000 merkis of money, which he nobly refused." *Spalding.* This must have happened in a castle, about eight miles from Aberdeen, belonging to Sir Thomas Burnet of Leys. I take the opportunity of correcting a mistake in the previous volume, p. 295, where "Lord Muchalls" is explained as meaning Burnet of Leys. This, however, was a title of the Lord Fraser's, and that nobleman it was, and not Sir Thomas Burnet, who urged Montrose to burn Aberdeen in 1639.

fect, the magistrates and council having consulted and advised with Robert Lord Burleigh, James Viscount of Frendraught, Andrew Lord Frazer, divers barons of this shire, and with the commander of the Fife regiment which was then in arms, with the inhabitants of this town, and with the foresaid noblemen and divers ready to oppose and resist the enemies in coming, did refuse to render the town, and dismissed the commissioner and drummer with answer to the said demand. But, as they were passing by the Fife regiment, *the drummer was unhappily killed* by some one or other of the horsemen of our parties, as was thought. Whereupon the fight presently began, and after two hours hot service or thereby, the said Fife regiment with our whole townsmen, and others of the shire, being there for the present overpowered by the number * of the enemies, were forced to take the retreat, wherein many of the Fife regiment were killed ; and of our townsmen were slain that day, Mr Mathew Lumsden, bailie, Thomas Buck, master of kirk-work, Robert Leslie, master of hospital, Messrs Alexander and Robert Reid, Advocates, Andrew and Thomas Burnets, merchants, with many more, to the number of near eight score ; for the enemy, entering the town immediately did kill all, old and young, whom they found on the streets, among whom were two of our town-officers, called Gilbert Breck and Patrick Kerr. They broke up the prison-house door,

* It appears from Spalding that it was only the Irish soldiers who followed into the town, and committed the havoc there, and that it was only to them Montrose allowed the pillage, he himself having remained, for the most of the time when Aberdeen was thus occupied, out of the town, with what Spalding calls the main body of his army, but which probably was no more than a reserve, to conceal the fact that he was now deserted by most of the men of Athol and Menteith.

set all warders and prisoners to liberty,* entered in very many houses, and plundered them, killing such men as they found therein."

We may believe this account of the slaughter committed by Montrose's excited and desultory soldiery, and the yet more hideous picture afforded by Spalding of the cruel excesses they perpetrated against individual citizens, men and women of that devoted town. But, unless it can be shown that Montrose could have gained his victory, or prosecuted his enterprise, at less expense of human life and suffering, he stands as completely exonerated as any General under whose command blood ever flowed and misery followed. He had done his best to avert the calamity from Aberdeen, and, however the loyalists of that unhappy district may have suffered, it is upon their covenanting rulers, and not upon his Majesty's Lieutenant, that the responsibility and the stain of those excesses must fall. Besides that the pillage of the town was the only mode afforded him of paying his precarious and unmanageable following, unless he had now determined to abandon the enterprise thus far victoriously prosecuted, some severity was indispensable, in order to sustain the royal authority in his person, which had been so grossly contemned, contrary to every rule of warfare, by the rebels having repeatedly refused to acknowledge the protection of his flag of truce, and by the extreme provocation of the cowardly slaughter of him who carried it upon the occasion in question. Spalding himself, from whom the picture of the cruelties imputed to the natural dispositions of Montrose is derived, completely exonerates our hero,

* This was to release Gordon of Innermarkie, Irving of Lenturk, and other followers of Huntly, who had been cast into prison by the Covenanters.

and casts the stigma where it ought to rest. But his own dying declaration is more than sufficient to outweigh all the crude and unreflecting calumny poured out against him on this subject, both in his own times and the present. On the eve of his execution, his clerical tormentors accused him of having waged war by means of what they termed an army of Irish rebels and cut-throats. To this Montrose replied: "It was no wonder that the King should take any of his subjects who would help him, when those who should have been his best subjects deserted and opposed him. 'We see,' said he, 'what a company David took to defend him in the time of his strait.' As to his men's spoiling and plundering the country, he answered, they know that soldiers who wanted pay could not be restrained from spoilzie, nor kept under such strict discipline as other regular forces; but he did all that lay in him to keep them back from it, and for bloodshed, if it could have been prevented, he would rather it had all come out of his own veins." *

It was not by superior numbers, as the Records of Aberdeen would seem to say, that Montrose gained this victory, but, in the first place, by his admirable management of the few horse he possessed, and secondly, by the inspiration of his spirit, as he led his foot to the charge at the critical moment. Lord Burleigh offered battle in the same manner that Elcho had done, having his flanks covered with about three hundred horse, and his front with cannon. His left wing was commanded by Lord Lewis Gordon, "a bold young man," says Dr Wishart, "but hair-brained, and who had forced out his father's friends and clients, to fight

* MS. of Montrose's conversation before his execution. This will be found entire in its proper place.

with Montrose against their will." Lord Lewis charged at the head of a large body of cavalry, including his immediate followers. But Montrose, whose handful of horse were commanded by Sir William Rollock and Nathaniel Gordon, had artfully interspersed their meager ranks with bowmen and musketeers, nearly equal in speed and activity to such cavalry as he possessed, and the galling fire, with which they welcomed the charge on each flank, first checked and then routed the covenanting horse. And ere they could rally again, the voice of Montrose was heard: "To close quarters —we do no good at a distance,—give them the broad-sword, and but-end of your muskets,—spare them not, and make them pay for their treachery and treason."*

Thus was gained the battle of Aberdeen, not by dint of superior numbers, but because,—as the noble Strafford once wrote from Ireland to an officer of the household,—"the brawn of a lark is better than the carcase of a kite, and the virtue of one loyal subject more than of a thousand traitors."

When old Leven heard that Montrose had annihilated Elcho, he sent up to Scotland, says Baillie, "my Lord Calendar, with so many of his best horse and foot as, with Argyle's forces on the rebels' backs, and the country-forces on their face, with God's help, may bring

* Wishart records the following characteristic anecdote of an Irish soldier, whose leg had been shot off by a cannon ball. Coolly separating with his knife, the piece of skin that still kept his limb attached to his body, he continued to cheer on his comrades, and said he was sure the Lord Marquis would make him a cavalry-man, as he could no longer serve on foot.

Baillie laments the battles of Perth and Aberdeen, as "the greatest hurt our poor land got these fourscore years, and the greatest disgrace befel us these thousand,—the reproach will stick on us for ever." The Kirk found its hour of revenge.

these wicked men to their deserved end." Sir James Turner also mentions this imposing movement, and adds,—" Calendar staid not long, neither had the leaders of the Covenanters better luck than Elcho." No sooner was Montrose out of Perth than the army of the Covenant occupied it. A few days after the battle of Aberdeen, intelligence reached Montrose that Argyle was close at hand with an overwhelming force, of which from 1000 to 1500 were horse, commanded by the Earl of Lothian. Accordingly, with difficulty collecting his disorderly troops, he marched from Aberdeen to Inverury on the 16th of September, and Argyle at the same time progressed to the house of Drum, and his army entered Aberdeen upon the third day after Montrose had quitted it. Instantly the Dictator issued a proclamation declaring the King's Lieutenant and all his followers traitors to Religion, King, and Country, and offered a reward of twenty thousand pounds to whomsoever should bring in Montrose, dead or alive. " Some (says Spalding) thought this proclamation, given out by Argyle's direction, against the King's Lieutenant-General, clad with his letters-patent, was weill strange for a subject to do against the King's authority."

Notwithstanding his recent successes, Montrose's prospects were certainly far from promising. He had failed in every effort to bring the Gordons to the Standard, nor could he be sure for a single day of the presence of the few Highlanders who had joined him. In vain he dispatched his indefatigable ally, Sir William Rollock, to inform his Majesty of the success which, under every disadvantage, had hitherto attended his arms, and to tell him at the same time that, without reinforcements, it was impossible to keep the field. His Sovereign was

unable to afford him the slightest assistance. Nevertheless he now entered upon his almost incredible round of forced marches, sudden onfalls, and rapid and masterly retreats, again and again retracing his steps, even as the winter was setting in, through the wildest and most untrodden districts, and over the most inaccessible mountains of Scotland, rarely in a beaten track, and continually struggling through snow-wreaths, rocks, and mists, and inland seas,—such as might suggest the wild imagery of his own stanza,—

> The misty mountains, smoking lakes,
> The rocks resounding echo,
> The whistling wind, that murmur makes,
> Shall, with me, sing—heigh ho!
> The tossing seas, the tumbling boats,
> Tears dropping from each shore,
> Shall tune with me their *turtle* notes—
> I'll never love thee more,—

and by means of which unparalleled activity, he very soon compelled Argyle himself to throw up, in despair and alarm, his commission as military Governor of Scotland, but not until the latter had thoroughly disgraced himself, both as a General and a man. "It is said," remarks Spalding, "Argyle had followed these Irish about ten weeks time, but could never win (attain) within two and a half days journey towards them; but now his foot army lying in Aberdeen was within half a day's days journey towards them, lying about Inverury, and in the Gareoche, and Argyle himself with his troopers, lying now at Drum, was within like distance to them." While his pursuer was thus behind him, preying upon the district of Huntly, Montrose, after disencumbering his little army of all heavy baggage, and having concealed in a morass the cannon he had no means of transporting, turned his adventurous steps northward, with intention to cross the

Spey, being still in hopes of raising the whole power of the Gordons against the disloyal and unpatriotic oppression of Argyle. But when he arrived at its rapid course, he found that all the boats were carried off, and the opposite banks formidably occupied by a host of northern Covenanters, about five thousand in arms, who had been summoned together to head his progress, and place him betwixt two armies, each much superior, except in courage and activity, to his own. So he directed his march up the Spey, now occupying the wood of Abernethy, now encamped at the old castle of Rothiemurchus, and ever pausing like a gallant stag beset, to "snuff the tainted gale," and gain some intelligence of his surrounding enemies. But they brought him not to bay, Argyle having only followed at this time as far as Strathbogie, and the Bog of Gight, where he employed his army of four thousand horse and foot in a predatory war upon those districts. Accordingly, Montrose, turning from the torrent he had meant to cross, suddenly doubled back upon the Argyle ridden lordships of Huntly, and, from the head of Strathspey, plunged with his brave little band into the pathless wilds of Badenoch. This was about the end of September.*

* About the 23d of September,—"Argile merchis fordnard fra Abirdene to Strathbogie, with an army of hors and foot, having the Lord Gordoun and his brother Lues in his company, quhair he destroyit the haill Rawis of Strathbogie. Cornefeild landis, out-sicht, in-sicht, hors, nolt, scheip, and all other goods thay plunderit, quhilk they could get. And it was said, the Lord Gordoun beheld all, because they would not rise and follow him as thair young chief. Strathila and Boyne sore wrackit. And when this army destroyit Strathbogie, then they leivit upone the Engzie, herrying the countrey and destroying the cornis; so that there was not four house-holderis dwelling thair of the name of Gordoun, bot all had fled, yea, and some alledgit they went willingly into Montrois's army. And lykwaies thay destroyit the cornis and bestiall of Strathavan, Auchindown, and utheris landis about, quhilk made them also to brak out. A wonderfull unnaturalitie in the Lord Gordoun to suffer his fatheris landis and freindis in his own sicht to be

When we consider that in less than one month from his perilous journey to the Grampians, Montrose had created an army of his own, and destroyed two superior armies of the enemy, besides baffling, by means of those desperate marches, the imposing forces that were daily expected to crush him, we are not surprised to learn from Dr Wishart, that Montrose, with all his mountain habits and iron frame, after having attained these fastnesses, "*aliquot dies, gravi sanè morbo laboravit.*"* It was even supposed by the Covenanters, that death had overtaken him ere Argyle could do so, and the clergy fixed a day of thanksgiving for the deliverance, and told their mystified flocks that "the great God of armies himself had slain Montrose with his avenging hand." But, adds Wishart, he recovered in a few days, and, as if risen from the dead, struck terror into the hearts of his enemies by suddenly crossing the Grampians, and again occupying Blair Athol about the 4th of October. From thence he sent Allaster Macdonald himself, with a division of his Irish followers, to the western Highlands, as far as Ardnamurchan, to relieve the garrisons left in the castles of Migarry and Langhaline, and to induce or compel some of the chiefs in those quarters to join the Royal Standard. In the meanwhile, Montrose, though thus deprived of the important aid of his Major-General, still continued his torrent-like course, through Angus and the Mearns, to the great consternation of Aberdeen, which, however, was again prepared to receiving him, under the doubtful and

thus wrackit, and destroyit in his fatheris absens! Upon the 27th of September, Argile musteris his men at the Bog of Geicht, who of foot and hors wes estimat about 4000, bot never movit to follow the enemy, lying all this while in the wod of Abirnethie, not twenty miles distant fra his army."—*Spalding.*

* Laboured for several days under a very severe illness.

hesitating auspices of the Earl Marischal, who had fourteen troops of horse waiting for Montrose at the memorable Bridge of Dee, under the command of his brother Captain Keith, the Lord Gordon, and the covenanting Generals, Hamilton and Ramsay. On the 15th of October, Sir William Forbes of Craigievar, and John Forbes of Largy, who had been taken at the battle of Aberdeen, again returned there, as prisoners on parole, under the conditions to effect an exchange with young Irving of Drum and his brother, both confined in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, or return back to Montrose before the first of November. "And if it happened," adds Spalding, "Montrose to be overcome in battle before that day, that they be free of their parole and back-coming to Montrose. Always they came to Aberdeen, carried themselves calmly, and Craigievar came not near the Committees then sitting at Aberdeen. And Montrose was admired for his noble dealing, for letting go such a prime man as Craigievar upon his bare parole."* On the 17th, to the great joy of the inhabitants, and somewhat to the relief of the covenanting troopers at the bridge, Montrose crossed the Dee higher up, at the Mills of Drum, and, wasting and burning ("whilk before he had not done in this country," says Spalding,) the lands of the principal Covenanters as he went,—(only, "upon Saturday the 19th October, he dined in Monymusk with the Lady, the Laird being absent, and upon fair conditions he spared him at this time,") again he crossed those barrier mountains, more familiar to him now than his own domains of Kincardine and Mugdok, and passed into Strathbogie, where

* In those days it was not the "prime men" whose parole was most trust-worthy. Montrose himself complained that all were but too apt to "turn merchants of their faith."

Huntly was not. Here for some days he established his head quarters, still looking for the Gordons, and exercising his flying army with excursions against the Covenanters, of the most daring and successful nature, for ten miles around his camp, until, despairing of Huntly or his sons, he marched eastward to the Ythan, seeking protection from the threatening cavalry of Argyle and Lothian in the wood of Fyvie, whose castle he took possession of about the 28th of October, and there awaited the return of Allaster Macdonald, and such of the clans as he might succeed in bringing along with him.

The Committee of Estates could not well understand why their great General, Argyle, clothed, as they assumed, with the whole power and patriotic feeling of Scotland, and the special favour of Heaven, and who was understood to be in constant and close pursuit of our hero, had not brought him to bay and destroyed him long before this time. Publicly, indeed, they imputed Argyle's fruitless progress to the caution of a perfect commander, sure of his prey in the end, while each new success of Montrose was expressly attributed to the admonitory "indignation of the Lord" against his chosen Covenanters, for what was, not very intelligibly, termed by the Kirk militant, "trusting too much to the arm of flesh." Yet they were sorely galled by this failure of their champion's arm, and Baillie's involuntary compliment to Montrose conveys a corresponding reproof to the Generals of the Covenant. "You heard," he says, after alluding to the battle of Aberdeen, "what followed? That *strange coursing*, as I remember thrice round about from Spey to Athol, wherein Argyle and Lothian's soldiers were tired out." This coursing, however, was in consequence of Montrose's anxiety to raise the Gordons and the clans, and to keep his de-

sultory followers together by constant action and enterprise, and not that he was very closely pressed in the chase by Argyle. The policy of the Dictator was still to follow at a distance the forlorn hope he feared to overtake, and, by underhand and oppressive dealing, to deter the loyalists from joining the Standard, and induce those who now supported it to desert or betray their heroic leader. After Montrose had left the Spey for Badenoch, Argyle reached that river, and crossed it with his army. There he met the northern Covenanters, who had turned Montrose, and having spent some time in his element of holding committees, he marched to Inverness, and from that to Badenoch, where "he left nothing undestroyed, no, not one four-footed beast, corns, nor others," because some of its inhabitants had joined Montrose. Having passed into Athol, Argyle destroyed that country also, and thence descending to the Stormont went eastward through Angus, and so to Inverury, and Fyvie, where he encamped within two miles of the position occupied by Montrose. Thus, after this "strange coursing," the two most conspicuous characters of the times in Scotland, or, (as Clarendon says they were likened unto by the people,) Cæsar and Pompey, were suddenly confronted in hostile array, the fate of their native country, and perhaps of England, apparently depending upon the result of that collision.

Montrose's career would have been finished at Fyvie had his rival deserved in any degree the popular comparison. Macdonald had not yet rejoined him, so that his force was considerably under 2000 men, of whom only fifty were mounted,* while the Dictator was at

* Spalding says, it was thought that Montrose had with him "not

the head of 2500 foot, and more than a thousand well appointed horse, commanded by the Earl of Lothian. The army of the Estates was deficient in no material necessary to render the whole effective, and they possessed good store of powder and ball. The Royal army was deficient in every thing excepting courage and the genius of their commander. Disposing of his scanty array to the best advantage, behind some rude fences on an eminence, and still keeping hold of the wood of Fyvie, as a retreat from the overpowering cavalry which threatened to surround him, Montrose offered battle. A vigorous attack, led by Captain Alexander Keith, brother to the Earl Marischal, was made upon his position, and some advantage gained, for the ardour of the Highland troops was checked by the necessity of remaining on the defensive, and they were further disheartened by the shameless desertion at this critical moment, and in the sight of the whole army, of a company of the jealous and uncertain Gordons, whom Montrose had contrived to bring out of Strathbogie. Some of the hedges and ditches on the eminence were now occupied by the Covenanters, and Montrose must have felt that little less than a miracle could save his whole army. Instantly he brought into play that daring spirit of onset with which he ever supplied the want both of numbers and ammunition. Addressing himself, with an assumption of the most perfect unconcern, to a young Irish gentleman of the name of O'Kyan, whose courage and activity were well known to him, —'Come, O'Kyan,' says he, 'what are you about—take some of your handiest men, drive those fellows

passing 3000 men of all," But Dr Wishart, who must have been well informed, says, 1500 foot, and not above fifty horse.

from our defences, and see that we are not molested by them again.' The young Irishman replied by a rush at the Covenanters for which they were afterwards avenged against him on a scaffold. In the meantime, however, he did precisely as directed, drove them horse and foot in confusion down the hill, and his gallant company, bringing off in triumph the enemy's bags of powder which they found in the ditches, exclaimed with all the characteristic humour of their nation, 'we must at them again, for the rogues have forgot to leave the bullets with the powder.' Five troops of Lothian's horse then charged the fifty cavaliers. But Montrose had resorted to his hitherto successful manœuvre, of interlacing them with his most active musketeers, and as the covenanting cavalry approached, they received a fire which sent them to the right about in such confusion that with difficulty were the now excited royalists restrained, by the authority of their leader, from quitting their advantageous position, and rushing down upon the army of Argyle. That potentate, having enough for one day, retreated two miles from the field, and passed the night under arms. On the following day he again threatened the position of Montrose, whose troops were so ill supplied with ammunition as to be constrained, during the breathing time afforded them, to melt down into bullets every pewter dish, vessel, and flaggon, nay, adds Dr Wishart, the very *matulas*, in and about Fyvie, and were miserably supplied after all. But the gayety of those wanderers was unconquerable. 'There,' said a loyal Irishman, turning jocosely to his companions, every time he discharged his piece, and never doubting the success of his shot,—'there goes another traitor's face, spoilt with a pewter-

pot.' * In this manner were several days spent, Argyle never making the slightest impression upon Montrose, who still kept his ground, while the former retreated each night across the Ythan, to a distance of two or three miles from the scene of action, his troops having suffered severely, without inflicting any loss upon their active opponents. In one of these encounters the Covenanters lost their best officer, Marischal's brother, who was killed when leading a charge of cavalry. Having thus baffled and galled the force that ought to have destroyed him at Fyvie, Montrose returned with his army unhurt to Strathbogie, on the morning of Wednesday the 30th of October, and there entrenched himself among the enclosures and out-houses of Huntly's dwelling, which he now considered sufficient protection from the whole power of Lothian's cavalry, until Allaster Macdonald should arrive. Thither Argyle followed, and, upon the 2d and 3d of November, made some feeble attempts against the royal army, the result of which was as usual the loss of his troopers, and disgrace to himself. †

* "*Ut quidam, quoties globulum ex machinâ, accenso pulvere, in hostem torsisset, quod nunquam fustra fecisse præsumebat, toties ad socios conversus, lepidè exclamaret: Ego, inquit, certissimo ictu, proditoris os matula contrivi.*" I do not venture to translate *matula* literally.

† Argyle, notwithstanding his vastly superior force, paid Montrose the high compliment, at this time, of proclaiming that it was insufficient for the purpose. On Sunday the 3d of November, (on which day Montrose routed the skirmishers of Argyle at Strathbogie) every clergyman throughout the shires of Aberdeen and Banff, read, at the command of Argyle, from their pulpits after sermon, a charge directed against every parish, requiring an additional levy against Montrose, of horse, foot, and money, in the same proportion as had been furnished for the invasion of England. Spalding's comment upon the demand is, that "the country thocht Argyle should not have vext the country for more men, since he had greater power nor (than) was weil governit,"—and he adds, "the chair of Truth is now made ane mercat cross, and the preacher an officer for making of proclamations,"—a deep cutting comment.

Thus, so far as fighting was concerned, ended Argyle's famous undertaking, as General of the Estates of Scotland, to bring them Montrose dead or alive, or to drive him into the sea. Yet the Dictator contrived at this same time, by means of those arts that rarely failed him, (though he over-reached himself in the end,) to work some revolution in the little camp of his rival. He now proposed a cessation of arms, offered a free pass, and protection from covenanting persecution, to the noblemen and gentlemen supporting the Standard, if they wished to depart to their own homes, and even invited Montrose to a conference, with a view of accommodating matters to their mutual satisfaction. The Royal Lieutenant, well aware with whom he had to deal, immediately requested a safe-conduct for some of his friends with dispatches to his Majesty, and this being refused, the proposition for a treaty fell to the ground. That it could have been meant sincerely is incredible, for, in the previous month, Argyle had proclaimed a reward for the apprehension or the death of Montrose, and the original record we have produced, of the pardon of Ardvoirlich, sufficiently corroborates the statement of Montrose's chaplain, that upon the occasion in question, Argyle "began to tamper with Montrose's men, and not only to tempt their fidelity, by offering them an indemnity and high rewards if they would desert him, but he also promised a considerable sum to any person who should bring him Montrose's head,"—and even the stronger statement of Bishop Guthrie, who had ample opportunities of knowing the policy of the covenanting Dictatorship, namely, that "divers assassins were secretly employed, and large rewards promised them for it, to murder Montrose and Macdonald, and for that end, had permission given them to join their army,

whereby they might have the better opportunity; but Providence disappointed that plot."

Some of Montrose's present adherents, of whom better might have been expected, so far yielded to the insidious policy of his rival, as to be tempted at this time to accept of terms by which they were suffered to depart in safety, protected by the pass of Argyle. Yet they had some excuse. The winter was setting in, and Montrose was again bending his course northwards, as if his natural dwelling-place was among the eyries of Badenoch. Even he had nearly sunk under those desperate mountain marches, and it is not to be wondered at, if, seeing no gleam of better fortune after all their fatigues and successes, some of the loyal noblemen and gentlemen who had hitherto supported the Standard, now shrunk from a winter's campaign of such hopeless severity. To a council of war, held at Strathbogie, Montrose announced his intention of a night's march into Badenoch, and, however willing the spirit of all whom he addressed, there were a good many of them who felt that the flesh was too weak for such adventures. In the course of these deliberations, and when the plan of his arduous march was arranged, he learnt that his distinguished prisoner Craigievar, (lately returned to him in fulfilment of his promise,) had suddenly broke his parole and departed. Montrose, justly indignant, questioned the remaining prisoner, Forbes of Largy, if he was accessory to this escape, and if he too meant to steal away. 'I know nothing of it,' said the latter, 'and would rather die than break my parole.' 'Then Sir,' rejoining Montrose, 'I give you free liberty to go, and upon no other parole than this, that you return when I send for you.' But, unless it were for the intelligence of his plans they might carry to the enemy,

the escape of his prisoners was no loss to our hero. The departure of his friends affected him more sensibly. Lord Duplin, who had just succeeded his father in the Earldom of Kinnoul, Sir John Drummond, Colonel Hay, his old companion Colonel Sibbald, and other lowland gentlemen, now left him to his fate, on the plea, for the most part, that their constitutions were unequal to such a campaign as he projected, in winter among the mountains. The departure of Nathaniel Gordon, who went off with Craigievar, would have been the severest deprivation of any, were there not reason to believe that Montrose had some idea it was the intention of this daring and gallant loyalist to over-reach Argyle, and reclaim Lord Gordon, both of which objects he succeeded in accomplishing. But the old Earl of Airly, and his two sons, Sir Thomas and Sir David Ogilvy, no considerations could deter from following the Standard wherever it went. Thus leaving behind him his prisoners, his lowland friends, and more than all, by a most masterly manœuvre, the enemy that should have devoured him, Montrose, now doubly anxious to meet Mac Coll Keitache, and the clans, once more plunged into the wildest districts of Scotland, where we leave him until we glance at the fate of some of his friends in the south.*

* Spalding records that,—"Upon Wednesday, 6th November, Montrose leaves Strathbogie, and to the hills goes he;"—and he adds, that the moment our hero's back was turned, Argyle came into Strathbogie and committed pitiful ravages among the tenants of Huntly, who was still lurking in Strathnaver, and, unfortunately, using all the little influence he yet possessed over his sons and his retainers against Montrose. Lord Gordon was now hesitating in Moray, and the wild Lord Lewis had found for the moment other occupation, for "about this time he is mareit to Mary Grant, dochter to umquhil Sir John Grant of Freuchie, utherways callit the Laird of Grant, by whom he gat 20,000 merks, as wes said." From Spalding we also learn that, "upon the 11th of No-

The Covenanters at length succeeded in taking possession of Newcastle, about the middle of October 1644. Lord Ogilvy, and the rest of Montrose's friends who had fallen into their hands when he quitted them and stole into Scotland, were sent to Edinburgh, along with the Earl of Crawford, and Lord Reay. They arrived on the 7th of November, and Crawford, (now styled Ludovick Lindsay, for he was forfeited, and his Earldom bestowed upon the Dictator's friend Lord Lindsay,) was made to walk bare-headed up the Canongate as a doomed traitor. "It is said (says Spalding) that General Leslie, at the taking of these prisoners, had given his parole that they should not be abused when they came to Edinburgh, which proved otherways, whereat he seemed to be offended; always these noblemen, and the rest were not wardit in the Castle, where nobles were used to be incarcerated, but, out of despite and malice, were wardit within the Tolbooth

vember, there came from Montrose's camp to Aberdeen, the Lord Duplyne, [by this time Kinnoul,] Sir John Drummond, Sir Thomas Tyrie of Drumkilbo, Ogilvy of Innerquharitie, Colonel Hay, and some others. They had gotton *Argyle's pass*, and so but [without] trouble they went south, being followers of Montrose. Nathaniel Gordon, having his pass also, came to Aberdeen, and walked hither and thither peaceably." This gallant was understood to possess none of the temper of his scriptural name. Shortly before joining Montrose, the Reverend Andrew Cant, that celebrated Apostle of the Covenant who has bequeathed a name to hypocritical religion, got a letter, says Spalding, "fra Nathaniel Gordon, quhilk fleyit him to the heart, and caused him remove out of the toun, and byd until the Marquis of Argyle's coming here." There can be no doubt that Argyle granted these safe conducts, for, in Balfour's MS. notes of the Parl. 1645, the following curious entry occurs, shewing how completely Argyle was Dictator. "A quere proponed to the house by Committee for processes, whether or not these shall be proceeded against that has the *Marquis of Argyle's pass?* The house ordained the said Committee to desist from those contained in the list given in by the Marquis, and by the Committee of Estates, and to proceed against the rest."

of Edinburgh." Among these was the faithful chaplain of Montrose and Napier, and the nature of the confinement will be best understood from the following note of Sir James Balfour. "The humble petition of Mr George Wishart, sometime minister of St Andrews, and lately at Newcastle, now prisoner in the common jail of Edinburgh, begging maintainance, since he and his wife and five children were likely to starve."* Montrose's relatives, the Master of Maderty, Graham of Inchbrakie, (the father of Patrick Graham, who was still with his idol,) Graham of Fintrie, and Henry Graham, (Montrose's natural brother,) were also in prison. And there were others in the hands of the Covenanters whose fate must have been a subject of great anxiety to Montrose. Shortly before his expedition into Scotland, the "malignancy" of his friend Lord Napier had been visited by heavy exactions of money, in the shape of loans to the Committee of Estates, for support of the covenanting army in England; and their severity against this venerable and peaceful nobleman, and all his family, increased in proportion to the success of Montrose. About the time of the battle of Perth, an order was issued by which Lord Napier, the Master of Napier, and Stirling of Keir, were confined to Lord Napier's lodgings in the vicinity of Holyroodhouse, under a penalty of a thousand pounds Sterling, against any of the party who attempted to escape; and this confinement was very soon increased to solitary imprisonment, excepting against the young Master, who made his escape to his uncle before the battle of Aulderne, and had the inex-

* Notes of the Parl. 1645. The petition was presented on Tuesday 28th January 1645, and received this answer: "The house remits this supplication to the committee for monies, to grant modification for the supplicant's entertainment and his family, during his abode in ward, as they shall think fitting."

pressible satisfaction of going in person, after the victory of Kilsyth, to release all his own and Montrose's suffering friends. Nor was the malice of Argyle's government restricted to the male relatives of Montrose. His three nieces, Lady Keir, Lilias Napier, and the Lady Elizabeth Erskine, were also consigned to imprisonment, so rigorous and loathsome as to endanger their lives. But among all the notices of his friends and relatives, I find no allusion to his Countess, and have already conjectured that her death must have occurred before the rise of the troubles in Scotland.

Having destroyed or disgraced every covenanting army with which he had come in contact, and injured the credit of Argyle himself, even with the Kirk militant, our hero now determined upon the boldest, as it was the very best policy of which his slender and peculiar resources admitted. He knew that the loyalists in Scotland were overborne and oppressed by the individual power of Argyle, and that, by the same means, the original Covenant against Episcopacy had been speedily turned into the charter of his Dictatorship, subversive of the Throne. To redeem the bulk of the Scottish people from active rebellion required no unnatural revolution in their national feelings and propensities. But it was necessary to break that nearly universal dominion which the vicious talents and vast possessions of Argyle had enabled him to acquire over the persons and consciences of the people of Scotland, though but a small proportion even of his personal following entertained either affection or respect for their cowardly chief. But to conceive the possibility of breaking that power now, in the present triumphant state of the movement in both countries, and with a few "cut-throats and naked runagates," belonged to the daring genius of Montrose.

Having demonstrated the inefficiency of Argyle, as a military leader, at Fyvie and Strathbogie, he now resolved to strike at the root of his dominion, by attacking him in the most impregnable of his hereditary strongholds, and carrying the predatory warfare of the times, the only campaign for which his troops were suited, through every creek and corner of the north that owned the sway of Argyle, until not a claymore hesitated to join the Standard, or until all who preferred to be the slaves of his tyranny were no longer formidable in Scotland. But our hero never omitted an opportunity of attempting to bring that struggle to a speedy issue, by some effective blow at Argyle in person, not by means of assassination, the weapon of Gruamach himself, but in the battle-field. It was well for those lowlanders, who felt their constitutions unequal to the fatigue of following Montrose, that they quitted him at Strathbogie. No sooner had he reached the wildernesses of the Spey than he learnt that the formidable body of cavalry, which had rendered it impossible to attack Argyle when they last met, was sent into winter quarters, while the Dictator himself, on his way south from Aberdeen, was at Dunkeld with an army of foot, endeavouring to convert the loyal district of Athol. Instead of now wasting the domains of Argyle, Montrose, without a moment's hesitation, turned again to the Grampians, intending to force a battle at Dunkeld. In one night he brought his own army four and twenty miles across those mountains, in the end of November, struggling through rocks and drifted snow, in wilds untrodden and untenanted save by the eagles and the deer.* He

* "*Unica enim nocte, viginti et quatuor milliaria, per loca inculta, horrida, nivosa, et nullis unquam mortalibus habitata, cum copiis confecit.*"

was within sixteen miles of Argyle before his approach was known to the latter, who, instead of preparing to receive him, fled to the garrison of Perth, leaving the army of the Covenant to shift for itself. From Perth Argyle hastened, somewhat crest-fallen, to Edinburgh, where, says Spalding, "he got small thanks for his service against Montrose." He defended himself with complaints that Marischal and Gordon, and even the Forbesses and Frazers, had not efficiently co-operated against Montrose, and he begged to resign the honour of the military command of Scotland. Even the Kirk was puzzled to find an excuse for her patron saint. "Whether," says Baillie in his report of the matter to Spang, "through envy and emulation, or negligence, or inability, Argyle's army was not relieved as it should, himself was much grieved, so that he laid down his commission, which neither Lothian nor Calendar, for any request, would take up: So (General) Baillie was forced to take it, or it must have lain." No sooner, however, had Argyle thus extricated himself from his dangerous commission, than the intelligence that Montrose had passed through Breadalbane, and was "preying and burning" Glenurchy, caused him to hurry to his celebrated stronghold of Inverary, that "far cry to Lochow," totally inaccessible, as he supposed, to any army in the world, where he meant to summon the whole race of Diarmed, against his now dreaded rival.

Although Montrose failed in his spirited attempt to surprise Argyle at Dunkeld, his march across the mountains was not fruitless. At the Castle of Blair in Athol, their original rendezvous, he was joined by his Major-General, Allaster Macdonald, who brought no less an acquisition to the Standard than John of Moidart,

the Captain of Clanranald, with five hundred of his men. Patrick Graham had also recruited the Athol men, and, thus reinforced, Montrose poured down through Breadalbane, and by Loch Tay, upon the country of Argyle, and directed his course at once to Inverary. There, like a spider in his retreat, Mac Cailinmor himself was now dwelling, busied with the arrangements for the meeting of his clan, which he had already summoned to a rendezvous. Dr Wishart informs us that it was a boast of Argyle's, he would rather lose a hundred thousand crowns, than that any mortal should know the passes by which it was possible for an armed force to penetrate his country, even in the middle of summer. The month of December was now far advanced, when the affrighted herdsmen rushed down from the mountains with the astounding intelligence that Montrose was within a few miles of Inverary. Not a moment longer did their chief trust to that stronghold. Scarcely knowing where to fly, half-dead with terror, he threw himself into a fishing-boat, and escaped by sea, leaving his friends and followers, and the whole of his country, to their own fortune and the mercy of the enemy. Montrose burnt all that was combustible of Inverary, and thus, in the outset of his campaign, taught Scotland the important lesson, that "King Campbell" was no more impregnable at home than he was invincible abroad. Then, separating his army into three divisions, of which he himself commanded one, while another was led by Macdonald, and the third by John of Moidart, he prosecuted his plan of traversing, by separate routes, the whole district and dependencies of Argyle, which in this manner were wasted, (even as Argyle had wasted Athol, and the braes of Angus, and burnt the "bonny house of Airly,")

from Inverary to Lorn and Glenco, and from that through Lochaber to Glengarry and Lochness. This was in the dead of winter, from about the middle of December 1644, to the end of January of the new year. They laid the whole face of the country in ashes, killing all whom they met in arms for the rendezvous of Argyle, sweeping of its flocks and herds every valley, glen, and mountain that owned the sway of Mac Cailinmor, in short, burning and preying, according to the most approved principles of the Highland art military, without a check to their desolating progress. Montrose himself used often to remark, that his escape, through that desperate demonstration against the supremacy of Argyle, was providential and miraculous, for he considered that had but one or two hundred courageous men defended some of those narrow passes, his whole army might have been cut off and destroyed.*

In the meanwhile, as our hero was thus solving the problem of the far cry to Lochow, the Parliament met at Edinburgh on the 7th of January 1645. On the 18th of that month, "a letter from the committee with Argyle, directed to the Parliament, was read in the House, shewing that the Marquis of Argyle had gotten a fall, and disjointed his shoulder, but he wold be weill; that the rebels were *fled* to Lochaber, and that he would omit no occasion to pursue them; and that they were now in Glen-Urquhart."† Montrose, however, deserved as little the character of a fugitive, as did Argyle that of a pursuer. The latter had taken refuge, when chased from Inverary, in Dumbarton and Roseneath, where the new General, Baillie, appointed by the Estates to annihilate Montrose, joined his unsuccessful predecessor

* Wishart. † Balfour.

about the end of December. Here it was concerted to surround and destroy the Royal Lieutenant, by the following scheme: Having learnt that he was burning northwards, or, according to Argyle, had fled to Lochaber, the Dictator returned to Inverary to gather what Highland army he could, which was to be reinforced with troops from the Lowlands. He then pledged himself to "omit no occasion to pursue" Montrose, who at the same time was expected to run into the jaws of the northern forces about Inverness, consisting of the Frazers, and the whole covenanting strength of the shires of Moray, Ross, Sutherland, and Caithness. To make assurance doubly sure, Baillie marched off in the other direction northwards through Angus, for Perth, thus intending to inclose their quarry with three armies each superior to his own. Argyle, to redeem his influence with the clan, sent for Sir Duncan Campbell of Auchinbreck, a brave and distinguished scion, who at that time commanded a regiment in Ireland, and with his assistance Argyle once more found himself at the head of a Highland army, to which were added some regiments from the Lowlands, in all three thousand strong. With this force he commenced burning the brae country of Lochaber, pertaining to the loyal Keppoch, and, in characteristically cautious pursuit of Montrose, took up a strong position about the castle of Inverlochy, longing for intelligence that the other armies had so embroiled our hero in front as to take the sting out of his rear.

Glengarry, MacLean, the Stewarts of Appin, the Farquharsons of Braemar, the Gordons of Abergeldie, and some men of Glenco, had joined Montrose in his fiery progress. But, more precarious than the snow upon the mountains he traversed, the Highlanders were again melting away from him, and

hastening with the plunder to their native glens, under promise, however, to return at his summons. With an army thus again reduced to less than two thousand men, he had made up his mind to attack the covenanting forces at Inverness, reckoned at five thousand horse and foot.* He was sanguine of success, for a great proportion of these forces were inexperienced recruits, and their commander, Seaforth, was a waverer. Suddenly, however, he learnt, from Allan MacIlduy of Lochaber, that Argyle lay at Inverlochy. Their scheme he at once understood, and the tactic he adopted reminds us of that by which the great Usurper, in modern times, nearly conquered the world. The levies at Inverness were raw and desultory. The army of Argyle was better furnished with Claymores than his own. Yet to destroy the latter by a sudden blow, ere Baillie could co-operate either with him or Seaforth, was Montrose's best game, and gallantly he played it. Many a mountain called inaccessible lay betwixt him and Argyle, whom it was necessary to take by surprise, and instantly attack. So again he faced Lochaber, infusing into every Highlander, within reach of his summons, the excitement of a new and desperate adventure :

> Come from deep glen and from mountain so rocky,
> The war-pipe and pennon are at Inverlochy—
> Come every hill-plaid and true heart that wears one,
> Come every steel blade and strong hand that bears one—
> Leave the deer, leave the steer, leave nets and barges,
> Come with your fighting-gear broad-swords and targes.
> * * * * * * * * *
> Fast they come, fast they come, see how they gather,
> Wide waves the eagle-plume blended with heather.

But it was not, " as the winds came when forests are rended." Placing guards, upon such beaten road as offered itself in the year 1645, that no intelligence of

* Wishart.

his motions might reach the enemy, Montrose and his Redshanks struck off, from Lochness, into a savage and circuitous route, unvisited by the traveller, and, startling the herds of deer where mortal troops had never yet been led, sought their dreary way up the rugged bed of the Tarff, across the mountains of the awful Corryarick, (where neither military roads nor snow-posts were then,) and plunging into the valley of the rising Spey, and again crossing the wild mountains from Glen Roy to the Spean, staid not until, from the skirts of Bennevis, they saw before them, under a clear frosty sky, the yet bloodless shore of Lochiel, and the silent towers of Inverlochy.

It was on the second evening of this tremendous march, that Montrose first paused with his active vanguard, waiting for the rear to come up, but within sight of the camp of Argyle. Their presence was soon discovered, though Argyle's scouts had been cut off, for the moon was almost as bright as day, and some skirmishing took place during the night. No one imagined that it was Montrose in person, but, on the first alarm that a division of his omnipresent ravagers was reconnoitering the camp, Gillespic Gruamach betook himself to his favourite element, and from his boat, on an arm of the sea, awaited in safety the issue of the night attack.* But just as day dawned, a peculiar strain of martial music, startling the echoes of Benevis,

* "By this place of Inverlochy, the sea comes close to it, and that night Argyle embarked himself in his barge, and there lay till the next morning, sending his orders of discipline to Auchinbreck, and the rest of his officers, there commanding the battle." *Ormonde papers.* He took on board with him Sir James Rollock, (the same he had sent to tempt Montrose, and the brother of Sir William,) the Laird of Niddry, Archibald Sydeserf, bailie of Edinburgh, and, adds Guthrie, "Mr Mungo Law, minister thereof, whom he had invited to go along with him to bear witness to the wonders he proposed to perform in that expedition."

caused Argyle to quail within his galley, for he well knew it indicated the presence of the Royal Standard, and Cavaliers,—and Montrose.

On the right of the Royal battle was Allaster Macdonald and one regiment of the Irish, on the left Colonel O'Kyan and another regiment of the same, Colonel James Macdonald being placed in reserve with the third. In the centre was the Standard and Montrose, accompanied by a few horse, and supported by the Highlanders of Athol, under young Inchbrakie, the Stewarts of Appin, the men of Glenco, the captain of Clanranald, Keppoch, Glengarry, and MacLean. Opposed to the Royalists, were the Lowland forces of Argyle, placed on either wing, while his main battle, and the reserve, were both composed of "those supple fellows with their plaids, targes, and dorlachs," stationed partly on a gentle ascent fortified by a piece of ordnance. Within the castle of Inverlochy Argyle had placed a garrison of forty or fifty men. The dashing O'Kyan, with Montrose's left wing, in the face of a discharge of cannon and musketry, had the honour of meeting the first onset, which was given by the flower of Diarmed. But the three divisions of the royal army charged nearly simultaneously, and, Argyle's standard being taken, the Campbells broke in irretrievable confusion. A dreadful slaughter ensued. The brave Auchinbreck and many officers of distinction died where they stood. They redeemed the name of their race from the cowardice of its chief. For nine miles, fifteen hundred slain of the "chosen children of Diarmed," cumbered the shores, and dyed the waters of the Lochy and Locheil. The men of Athol had now their revenge of Sir Duncan Campbell of Auchinbreck.* "Few of that army," adds Spalding,

* See Vol. i. p. 499.

"had escaped, if Montrose had not marched the day before the fight, eighteen miles upon little food, and crossing sundry waters, wet and weary, in frost and snow, and standing in arms wet and cold the night before the fight." The price he paid for this victory was the death of Airly's second son, Sir Thomas Ogilvy, who had greatly contributed to the success. A man, says Wishart, dearly beloved by Montrose, remarkable for his loyalty and noble achievements, imbued with letters and learning—a favourite (like Montrose) of Minerva as of Mars. This was a friend he could ill spare. But the power of the Dictator was broken, and his conqueror flattered himself that the effort had not come too late to save the Monarchy. "Argyle went in *duleweid* to Edinburgh, sore lamenting the loss of his kin and friends, but chiefly the loss of his honour. Montrose courageously marched back through Lochaber, with displayed banner with incredible diligence."

It was on the morning of the 2d of February that the battle was fought. Upon Wednesday the 12th, a pitiable figure, "having his left arm tied up in a scarf, as if he had been at bones-breaking," appeared before the covenanting Parliament in Edinburgh. It was Argyle. "This day," notes the Lord Lyon, "the Marquis of Argyle came to the House, and made a full relation of all his proceedings since his last going away from this. The House were fully satisfied with my Lord Marquis of Argyle's relation, and desired the President, in their names, to render him hartly thanks for his great pains, and travel taken for the public, and withal intreated him to continue in so laudable a course of doing for the weill and peace of his country." But Argyle's relation was as usual untrue. He misled Balmerino to affirm upon his honour to the General Assembly that the great loss was but the invention

of the malignants, and that Argyle had not thirty persons killed in all. The Kirk-militant was becoming doubtful of their champion, and required some management. The clerical version of Inverlochy we learn from Baillie.

"*The world* believed that Argyle could have been maintained against the greatest army as a country inaccessible. But we see there is no strength or refuge on earth against the Lord. The Marquis *did his best* to be revenged—with an army sufficient *overtook* the rogues in Lochaber at Inverlochy. We hoped they might have been easily defeated—but behold the indignation of the Lord! Argyle, having a hurt in his arm and face, got by a casual fall from his horse some weeks before, whereby he was disabled to use either sword or pistol, * his cousin Auchinbreck took the leading of his army. No appearance but of courage and success. Yet no sooner did the enemy set on, but all our people, overtaken with a panic fear, without any necessity turned backs and fled. Auchinbreck, a stout soldier, but a very vicious man, and many special gentlemen of Argyle's friends were killed. This disaster did extremely amaze us. I verily think had Montrose come presently from that battle he should have had no great opposition in all the Highlands, in the Lennox, and the sheriffdom of Ayr, Glasgow, Clydesdale, scarce till he had come to Edinburgh. But God in mercy put other thoughts in his heart."

* Strafford, when racked with a complication of the most excruciating complaints, was ever ready to mount his horse at a moment's warning, and lead the troops in Ireland. "Do not think," writes his friend Lord Conway jocularly, "the gout is an excuse from fighting, for the Count Mansfelt had the gout that day he fought the battle of Fleury." But Argyle's excuse is worthy of him whose courage was only proved after his death, by the anatomical demonstration that his stomach, in *articulo mortis*, had digested a partridge.

## CHAPTER XIII.

ILLUSTRATIVE OF MONTROSE'S CRUELTIES.

MONTROSE, instead of a precarious expedition into the lowlands, with fluctuating troops, who seemed only to fight as it were in the leading strings of their native mountains, turned northward to reap the fruits he anticipated from the important lesson the Highlands had now been taught on the subject of Mac Cailinmor. It was his object, moreover, to destroy the covenanting armies in Scotland, and create a powerful diversion there in favour of the King. The very first blow he struck caused old Leven to send Calendar back to Scotland, and after the second, General Baillie * was compelled to take the command against him. Subsequently, at

* After the battle of Kilsyth, General Baillie wrote a vindication of himself to the Reverend Robert Baillie, having been required by that reverend gentleman to explain why "James Graham" was so constantly victorious. This vindication is among Robert Baillie's letters and journals. It seems that although the Marquis of Argyle had thrown up his commission, to avoid the danger and responsibility of the command in chief, he still expected to command behind the curtain. General Baillie was sent for from England. "I immediately obeyed the order," he says, "and at my coming I found that neither the Marquis of Argyle, nor the Earl of Lothian, could be persuaded to continue in their employment against these rebels, nor yet the Earl of Calendar could be induced to undertake the charge of that war; for which I was pressed, or rather forced, by the persuasion of some friends, to give obedience to the Estates, and undertake the command of the country's forces, for pursuing its enemies. But, because I would not consent to receive orders from the Marquis of Argyle, if casually we should have met together, after I had received commission to command in chief over all the forces within the kingdom, my Lord seemed to be displeased, and expressed himself so unto some, that *if he lived he should remember it;* wherein his Lordship indeed hath superabundantly been as good as his word."

Inverlochy, he had destroyed one of three armies which flattered themselves they were surrounding him. The other two were traversing the very districts from which his best resources were yet to be derived. He turned northward, therefore, with renewed hopes of the rising of the Gordons and the clans, and with the determination to dispose of Seaforth, and of Baillie, as he had done of Elcho, Burleigh, and Argyle.

What he had already accomplished, however, so far gave him the command even of the Government at Edinburgh, as to save the lives of some of his most valued friends there. He had sent the covenanting Parliament a significant hint on the subject of the loyalists imprisoned in the tolbooth and elsewhere, and proposed an exchange of prisoners, as appears from the Lord Lyon's notes, where it is mentioned that on the 25th of February " the House appoints a Committee of two of each Estate, to consider the roll sent by James Grahame, some time Earl * of Montrose, of the prisoners he offers to be exchanged." Upon this same day, the above chronicler was presiding at the grand ceremony, enacted in the Parliament House, and cross of Edinburgh, of deleting the arms of Montrose, and other distinguished loyalists, out of his registers and books of honour, and rending their escutcheons " with all convenient solemnity," in pursuance of their doom as rebels and traitors. This ceremony included, among others, the names of Nithisdale, Airly, Aboyne, Herries, Sir Thomas and Sir David Ogilvy, Patrick Graham of Inchbrakie, Mac Coll Keitache, Donald Glas MacRanald of Keppoch, and a distinguished young gallant, whose title was somewhat difficult to deal with, Alexander Ogilvy,

* It seems they did not acknowledge the King's prerogative of creating Montrose a Marquis in 1644, although the same honour bestowed upon Argyle in 1641 was considered unquestionable.

younger of Inerquharetey, and another, who decidedly beat the latter, in patronymics, by a neck, namely, John Stewart of *Inerequhaireqrtea.* But the Parliament now feared to proceed to extremities against such of Montrose's friends as were in their hands, though the thirsty Convention of the Kirk had been urging their immediate execution. On the 10th of February, a Committee of the General Assembly, consisting of Messrs David Dickson, Robert Blair, Andrew Cant, James Guthry, (whose own fate it was to be hanged,) and Patrick Gillespie, * presented a remonstrance to the House "anent executing of justice on delinquents and malignants." In particular, and "according to that laudable custom ever used here before by the Kirk, in keeping correspondence with the Estate," they pressed the execution of Crawford and Lord Ogilvy, and all the rest of the prisoners in the tolbooth. The Parliament commended the zeal and piety of the Assembly, but deferred the performance for a time, until Montrose were brought lower, lest it might happen that their own friends fell into his hands. Yet every thing was done to break the spirit and the constitutions of these unfortunate loyalists, in the dungeons to which they were consigned. In vain Lord Ogilvy urged that "he is a prisoner of war, and not a private prisoner, and

* It has been supposed, by Sir Walter Scott and others, that this zealous worthy had the honour of being alluded to in one of Milton's sonnets, where, in reply to a criticism on the title of his treatise *Tetrachordon,* Milton says,—

> Why, is it harder, Sirs, than Gordon,
> Colkitto, or Macdonnel, or *Galasp?*
> Those rugged names to our like mouths grow sleek,
> That would have made Quintillian stare and gasp.

But the second line quoted is entirely occupied with the name of *one person,* namely, *Coll Keitache, MacDonald, MacGillespick.* Bishop Burnet supposed that the Macdonalds with Montrose were commanded by "one Colonel Killoch!"

was taken on quarter." He was kept in the tolbooth in hourly expectation of death, and not permitted to see or speak to any one without an order from the Estates; and he was still persecuted with their usual persevering attempts to extort matter against him from his own mouth. On the 29th of January the Committee for the processes put a question to the House what course they were to take with Lord Ogilvy, "that would not, after he had deponed, subscribe his depositions, but obstinately did refuse to do the same." The House determined that if the President of that Committee and the clerk signed, it was as valid as if Lord Ogilvy had signed it himself. Dr Wishart and his whole family, as we have seen, were reduced to a state of starvation; and, what must have added not a little to General Macdonald's ardour in carrying fire and sword through Argyleshire, his father, old Coll Keitache, and two brothers, were also cast into prison, "with the monthly allowance of forty merks Scots, for their maintenance, and that of their five keepers." * But the family of Drum suffered the most severely. Alexander and Robert Irving, the sons of Drum, with their friends, Nathaniel Gordon, the young lairds of Gight, and Harthill, were the most daring and highest spirited gallants of the age. † But while the latter

* From the MS. Record of Parl. it appears that Argyle had seized them some years before. There is an act, dated 25th January 1642, in favour of Argyle's having caused Coil Macgillespicke M'Donald and two of his sons, and John M'Donald, and Donald Gorme M'Donald, to be apprehended, and approving of the same as good service. Coll and his sons were afterwards sent to Edinburgh, and disposed of as above.

† "Upon Sunday the 23d of February, young Geicht, (Gordon,) young Harthill, (Leith,) and their complices, took ten of Craigievar's troop, lying carelessly in their naked beds, within their quarters of Inverury. They took their horses, their moneys, their apparel, and arms, and gave the men liberty to go. Whereat Craigievar was *heichlie offendit*."—*Spalding*.

were still enjoying their liberty, and their wild reckless adventures as loyalists, the Irvings, at the very time, too, of the victory of Inverlochy, were dying in their loathsome cell. Honest Spalding's pathetic tale of their fate is most affecting. "You heard before," he says, "of the taking and warding of young Drum, and his brother Robert Irving. This brave young gentleman departed this life within the tolbooth of Edinburgh, upon Tuesday 4th February, and that same night (being excommunicate) was buried, betwixt eleven and twelve o'clock, with candle-light in lanterns, the young laird lying sore sick in the same chamber, who, upon *gryt moyan*,* was transported, in a wand-bed, upon the morn from the tolbooth to the Castle, where he lay sore grieved at the death of his weil belovit brother, borne down by unhappy destiny, and cruel malice of the Estates. When they were first wardit they were all three† put in sundry houses, that none should have conference with another, and that none should come or go without a town's bailie were present. This longsome, loathsome, prison endured for the first half year. Thereafter they got liberty all three to byde in one chamber, but none suffered to come, or go, or speak but that which was overheard by a bailie. But this gallant, byding so long in prison, and of a high spirit, broke

* *i. e.* Great interest. A note of Sir James Balfour confirms this. "Tuesday 4. Feb. The young Laird of Drum did humbly petition the House, that in respect of his brother's death the preceding night and his own sickness, that the Parliament would be pleased to let him be removed to some house in town, on sufficient caution. The House ordains the supplicant to be transported to the Castle of Edinburgh for fourteen days, and there to remain as in the tolbooth, with a sure guard, and thereafter to be returned to his former prison." And upon the 18th of Feb. "the House gives leave to two ministers and a ruling elder to go to the Castle and visit the young Laird of Drum, upon his own humble petition." He lived to be released by Montrose.

† Their cousin, Alexander Irving, was taken with them.

his heart and died, his father being confined in Edinburgh, and his mother dwelling in New Aberdeen, (for the place of Drum was left desolate as ye have before,) to their unspeakable grief and sorrow."

Montrose went on his way with renewed vigour, though not rejoicing, for the system he was compelled to pursue, of destroying the estates of the influential Covenanters, in order to raise Scotland in support of the Royal Standard, (to which he summoned as he went all betwixt sixty and sixteen,) must have brought many a pang to his generous spirit and accomplished mind. It was by means of this very system that Argyle had previously concussed and enslaved the loyal districts, and no other resource was now left to Montrose, with the followers he could command, than this terrible *lex talionis*, by which he meant to superinduce a new and active sore upon the now proud and morbid disease of the Covenant. Already a most important reaction was created by the apparent destruction of the power of Argyle. Nathaniel Gordon, the real terms and spirit of whose departure from Montrose in the month of November was never distinctly known, returned to the Standard, on the 19th of February, bringing with him the Lord Gordon at the head of a small but select body of Huntly's cavaliers. Montrose had proceeded northwards to Inverness, and from that to Elgin, not far from the Bog of Gight, (Gordon Castle,) where, as probably he expected, the heir of Huntly suddenly broke for ever the bonds that had joined him to his uncle Argyle, and, " being in the Bog, lap quickly on horse, having Nathaniel Gordon, with some few others, in his company, and that same night came to Elgin, saluted Montrose, who made him heartily welcome, and they sup joyfully together. His brother,

Ludovick, came also to Montrose, and was graciously received." Probably the wild Lord Lewis had been also somewhat influenced by his recent connexion with the Laird of Grant, a considerable body of whose men at this time joined the Standard. Another important result of the last victory was, that the Earl of Seaforth, who commanded the northern Covenanters in arms against Montrose, and who was holding a committee at Elgin when the Royal army approached that town, instead of attempting to meet him in the field, at first betook himself, with the rest of the committee, to flight, and soon afterwards joined the King's Lieutenant at Elgin, apparently as if returned to his loyalty, but with so "loose a foot," that his real views and sentiments, at the time, are as uncertain as his conduct was wavering, and impotent on either side.

Meanwhile the covenanting machinery was carefully refitted. On the 8th of March, the Parliament, having passed an act of forfeiture against the Marquis of Huntly and Lord Gordon, was adjourned, that all might have leisure to suppress the insurrection of Montrose. Baillie,* the best General yet on foot against him, had marched with his army to Perth, and Sir John Hurry,† an experienced and daring officer, but quite unprincipled, was commissioned as Major-General under the

* He had served under Gustavus Adolphus, and was a natural son of Sir William Baillie of Lamington. See an account of him in Nisbet's Heraldry, Vol. ii. p. 138.

† The hero of the Incident. See Vol. i. p. 128. He is also frequently called Urry. Charles the First had knighted him for good service performed with Prince Rupert's horse, in the year 1643, immediately after he had quitted the Covenanters in disgust. But in 1644 he again changed sides, and was now charging Montrose with spurs of knighthood conferred by Charles. See Clarendon for a history of the tergiversations of this good soldier and worthless man.

former, and sent to join him with a large body of most effective cavalry. Matters, however, were somewhat languid and deranged at the seat of Government.* The people were groaning under burdens imposed by the Covenanters themselves, and the covenanting enthusiasm of the grand national movement had fallen below zero, independently altogether of any reaction occasioned by Montrose. But *Alma Mater* did her best, by "free admonitions to the Parliament," to extricate the progress of anarchy. Those ministers who were not sufficiently rabid in their pulpit politics were threatened, or actually deposed. And to keep the movement in full career, three grand committees were now arranged,—one for the army in England, of which committee Argyle was nominated head, (but he found enough to keep him at home,) another, under the auspices of the Earl of Lanerick, (now a "prime Covenanter,") and Lord Lindsay, to attend the army of Baillie sent against Montrose, while to Balmerino was consigned the charge of the committee at head quarters.

* Baillie thus expresses it: "The country was exceedingly exhausted with burdens, and, *which was worse*, a careless stupid lethargy had seized on the people; so that we were brought exceeding low. In this lamentable condition we took ourselves to our old rock—we turned ourselves to God." By this last phrase is meant their old weapon of seditious agitation, commanding and enforcing a fast throughout the kingdom, with more than papal tyranny. It was enjoined for the 6th of April, and, says Spalding,—"no meat durst be made ready,—searchers sought the town's houses and kitchings for the same; thus is the people vexed with thir extraordinary fasts and thanksgiving, (upon the Sabbath day, appointed by God for a day of rest,) more than their bodies are vexed with labour on the work day,—through the preposterous zeal of our ministers." Messrs Robertson and Halyburton, the ministers of Perth, were both deposed as being lukewarm in the cause. But the latter was restored; because "Dame Margaret Halyburton, Lady of Cowpar, came over the Frith, and, with oaths, vowed to my Lord Balmerino, that unless he caused her cousin to be reinstated he should never enjoy the favour of the Lordship of Cowpar. This communication set Balmerino at work for him."—*Guthrie.*

Montrose, with his new allies, marched from Elgin to the Bog of Gight on the 4th of March, and took up his abode there for a few days, under melancholy circumstances. His eldest son, Lord Graham, he had kept with the army, probably for safety, during a campaign, or part of it at least, which had proved too severe for this gallant boy, only sixteen years of age, but of great spirit and promise. He at this time died, after a few days illness, in Huntly's castle, and was buried in the Kirk of Bellie, to the great grief of his father, who had little time to shed tears over his tomb. By the 9th of March Montrose had burnt and preyed southwards through the properties of the rebels to the neighbourhood of Aberdeen, where he was met by a deputation from that hapless town, to inform him, that "through plain fear of the Irishes, the whole people, man and woman, were fleeing away, if his Honour gave them not assurance of safety and protection; who mildly heard these Commissioners, and said he was sorry at Aberdeen's calamities, always forbade them to be frightened, for his foot army, wherein the Irish were, should not come near Aberdeen by eight miles, and if himself came, he craved nothing but entertainment upon his own charges, further wrong he intended not to do to the burgh of Aberdeen; which truly and nobly he kept. The Commissioners were glad of this unexpected good answer. They gave many thanks, and humbly take their leave from Montrose, came back from Turreff, and upon the 10th of March came to Aberdeen, where they declared the good answer which they had gotten, to the great joy of magistrates and commons, man, wife, and child within the burgh."

But this time Montrose was the sufferer. To Na-

thaniel Gordon was committed the charge of negotiating with the town the levies of men, arms, and horses to supply the Royal army, which lay encamped at Kintore. This brave but reckless cavalier had become too careless of the enemy. Upon the 12th of March he went to Aberdeen with about eighty "weill horsit brave gentlemen." He took care that himself should be well mounted that day, for he borrowed a charger from his friend Lord Gordon, being the very best of those "stately saddell horses" which Huntly had sent to his son when he himself sought safety in Strathnaver. But Nathaniel Gordon was the double of the heir of Huntly,—

> ——— In token of the which,
> My noble steed, known to the camp, I give him,
> With all his trim belonging.———

Along with this gay and gallant party, went another valuable ally of Montrose's, Donald Farquharson of Monaltrie, who had also determined to shine in all his bravery upon this occasion, for he took with him "ane riche stand of apparrell" which he had never yet worn, and arrayed himself therein when at Aberdeen. It was upon Friday the 15th of March, that, as these gallants were "at their merriment," without having taken the precaution to guard the ports or to place sentinels, and their own steeds being all housed in the Court de Guard, the clatter of many horses' feet were heard in the broad gate of Aberdeen. It was Sir John Hurry himself, with eight score troopers at his back, to whom notice had been sent of the careless wassail of the cavaliers. Donald Farquharson rushed to the street, and was instantly killed in front of the Court de Guard. Some more lives were lost, and a few sent prisoners to Edinburgh. Nathaniel Gordon and the rest returned to

Kintore on foot, their steeds, the pick of Montrose's cavalry, being for the most part captured by the Covenanters; and, as a set off to the exploit of young Gight and Harthill, Huntly's stately charger had to part company with the noble scions of that house, and found itself bestrode by Robert Forbes, the brother of Craigievar, who was now revenged. Sorry, and sore ashamed, Nathaniel Gordon had to report his disaster to the Royal Lieutenant. Montrose was highly offended, and yet more grieved, at the carelessness which had lost him Donald Farquharson. A deputation from Aberdeen followed in fear and trembling, to excuse the town. "Montrose heard them patiently, with ane wo heart, yet knew well enough who was innocent or guilty of this matter within the town, wisely kept up his mind, and gave the Commissioners an indifferent answer. And so they returned to Aberdeen, not knowing what should be the event." On the following day, he sent Lord Lewis Gordon, (whose first boyish campaign had been under the guidance of Donald Farquharson,)* and Allaster Macdonald himself, with a thousand horse and foot, to see interred the pride of Braemar. The town's people had found his corps lying naked on the streets, all his rich apparel having been "tirrit from off his bodie." They had placed it in a chest, and within the chapel, together with three other cavaliers, who had been slain, and on Sunday the 17th they were interred with military honours. "Donald—one of the noblest captains amongst all the Highlanders of Scotland, being still the King's man for life and death—was buriet in the Laird of Drum's aisle, with mony wo hearts, and dulefull schottis." Spalding adds, that Mac Coll Keitache behav-

* See Vol. i. p. 262.

ed nobly to the terrified town, and comforted them all by quartering his Irish about the Bridge of Dee, and suffering none to enter, with himself and Lord Lewis, but his troopers.

Misfortunes, they say, never come single, and so it fared with Montrose. Hurry, immediately after his dashing exploit, went south with his troopers to the town of Montrose, where James, now Lord Graham, had been left at school. This boy had just attained the dangerous importance of being the only child of Montrose, and Sir John Hurry seized the prize. He was "a young bairn about fourteen years, learning at the schools, attended by his pedagog in quiet manner. Always he is taken, and had to Edinburgh, where he with his pedagog are both wardit in the Castle of Edinburgh." Nor was this all. While Montrose was yet at Kintore, the constitution of the brave old Earl of Airly gave way under the fatigue of that terrible campaign, and being in a high fever, he was conveyed first to the house of his daughter, and afterwards for greater security to Strathbogie, having no less than 800 of Montrose's men and officers there to guard him. Thus in the space of little more than a week was Montrose deprived of two of his most valuable friends, and of both his sons.

Yet onward he went in his fiery course, summoning the country in the name of the King, and wasting the districts where that summons was scorned. Marischal, the most potent nobleman of the north, was once more called upon to make his election betwixt the King and Argyle. Some months before, Montrose had sent him a letter, anxiously explaining that the object of his present expedition in Scotland was simply to re-establish the Throne, and not to injure the subject, and he called

upon the Earl to aid the King's Lieutenant, or be answerable for the consequences. Marischal returned only a verbal and slighting reply, and sent the letter to the covenanting Committee. Montrose was now at Stonehaven, hard by Marischal's Castle of Dunnotter, the great stronghold of that country, into which no less than sixteen covenanting ministers had fled, who now composed the Earl's, or rather his Lady's privy council, the President of which may be said to have been Mr Andrew Cant. Upon the 20th of March, Montrose wrote another letter to Marischal, of the same tenor as his former, and which met with no better reception. On the 21st he burnt the barn-yards of Dunnotter, before the eyes of the Earl, who saw it from the Castle, and of his covenanting Lady, and the sixteen ministers, whose comments on the occasion were probably not complimentary to our hero. But he might have replied, in the words of the Reverend Robert Baillie against the Bishops,—" they shall see we are not to be boasted, and are resolved to make them taste if that heat be pleasant when it comes near their own shins." The burgh of Stonehaven, the town of Cowie, the shipping, and the whole lands of Dunnotter were successively consigned to the flames. " They fired the pleasant park of Fetteresso. Some trees burnt, others being green could not well burn. But the hart, the hynd, the deer, the roe, skirlit at the sight of this fire,—they were all taken and slain. The horses, mares, oxen, and ky were all likewise killed, and the whole barony of Dunnotter and Fetteresso utterly spoiled, plundered, and undone." Spalding adds, that it is said the people of Stonehaven and Cowie, when the fire was raised, came out, men and women, with children at their feet, and in their arms, crying, howl-

ing, and weeping, praying the Earl Marischal to save them from the fire, but that the poor people got no answer, nor knew where to go with their children. This deplorable spectacle, we venture to say, the generous Montrose beheld with as sore a heart as any there. His own children and dearest friends, all victims of the times, were dead or imprisoned. From the house of James Clark, provost of Stonehaven, the only house spared, he watched the conflagration.

> I sometime lay, here in Corioli,
> At a poor man's house; he used me kindly;
> He cried to me; I saw him prisoner;
> But then Aufidius was within my view,
> And wrath o'erwhelmed my pity. I request you
> To give my poor host freedom.

South went Montrose in his fiery course, which, upon Friday the 22d of March, Major-General Sir John Hurry attempted to arrest, and crossed the Lion in his path. Having passed the Grampians, our hero lay encamped at Fettercairn, about seven miles from Brechin, the quarters of the covenanting cavalry. A foraging party of the royal army fell into an ambuscade, and were driven back to their camp. Hurry then advanced, with six hundred horse, to reconnoitre Montrose and draw him into the plain. Montrose tempted him with the sight of just two hundred cavaliers, but in a valley behind he posted his Claymores, and at the heels of every horse was a redshanked musketeer. On came Sir John Hurry, but the unexpected fire of the musketeers sent his six hundred horse to the right about, and, with some loss, they were chased even across the Esk, and never drew bridle till they reached Dundee. Hurry covered their flight with a party in the rear, and displayed the skill and courage of one who had learnt the art in the school of Gustavus Adolphus.

The Royal Lieutenant now obtained intelligence of the vast preparations made to destroy him by General Baillie, that the latter was close at hand in co-operation with Hurry, and commanding a much superior force to his own. He raised his camp on the 25th, soon came in sight of Baillie's army, and wasted some lands in the county of Angus, while four regiments of Baillie's foot, and two regiments of his horse occupied the fields hard by. But Montrose was not strong enough, and Baillie not bold enough to force a battle. The latter had marched from Perth to meet the Royal army on its way from Brechin, and the river Isla, which neither army could venture to cross while the other watched its banks, alone separated them. For four or five days they continued to glare upon each other in this manner, to the amazement and terror of the whole country side, none knowing which of the hostile armies they were to consider as their masters. But the pause ill suiting the impetuosity of Montrose, he sent his adversary a message to this effect, that if Baillie would pledge his honour to fight, when over the water, he would permit him to bring his whole forces unmolested across the Isla;* or, if the latter preferred fighting on the side where he was, that Montrose would come over to him upon the same conditions. The reply of the covenanting General was good, and would have been admirable if the prelude to a victory. 'Tell Montrose,' he said, 'that I will fight at my own time and pleasure, and ask no leave from him.'

Shortly afterwards, however, Baillie and Hurry had Montrose at advantage, from which he escaped as if by a miracle. Baillie had marched back to Perth, and our hero northward to Dunkeld. There his forces

* See another instance of Montrose's habit of sending such challenges, Vol. i. p. 283.

were weakened by the sudden and capricious departure of Lord Lewis Gordon, who being jealous, it is said, both of his brother and Montrose, or, as was also said at the time, actuated by secret advices from his father, went off without the consent of Montrose or Lord Gordon, and carried a considerable portion of the cavalry along with him. But Montrose, who required to recruit himself in the mountains ere he attempted a descent upon the south, determined to crown his present excursion by a blow at the pre-eminently disloyal town of Dundee. Suddenly turning eastward from Dunkeld, he marched with part only of his forces upon that nest of sedition in the night-time, and arrived, about ten o'clock on the morning of the 4th of April, at a hill overlooking the town, from whence he sent a summons to the town in the name of the King, and warned them of the consequences of not admitting the King's Lieutenant. The usual covenanting reply followed. Montrose's trumpeter was put in prison, and, under this provocation, Lord Gordon and Macdonald received orders to storm the town, which they did simultaneously at three different quarters, Montrose being on the neighbouring height superintending the operations. The place was taken, its own cannon turned against the town, and a formal surrender on the point of being arranged, when Montrose's scouts, who had previously misinformed him as to the position of the enemy, now brought the intelligence that Baillie and Hurry were within one mile of him, at the head of three thousand foot, and eight hundred horse. The forces with himself (the rest being at Brechin) were not above six or seven hundred musketeers, and from a hundred and fifty to two hundred horse. Of these the storming party were, for the most part, intoxicated with the pillage of

the town. Montrose was advised by some around him instantly to fly, and leave his troops to their fate. But he determined, more nobly, to redeem his error, (in suffering his little army to be thus surprised,) by ordering the retreat and sharing their fate. He encouraged all, and completely got together even the excited and intoxicated storming party, a remarkable instance of his presence of mind and power of command. Sending off the foot in two separate bodies, with the drunken men in front, he covered the rear himself with his horse, and, ere the sun had set, was in full and orderly retreat, leaving few or none behind him but those who were killed in taking the town. The covenanting Generals thought themselves sure of their prey, and overtook our hero as the shades of night drew on. They separated their forces into two divisions, intending to attack the royalists in flank and rear. Twenty thousand crowns was proclaimed as the price of Montrose's head. Hurry and his horse came up with the rear, but Baillie, for whom the Highlanders were too active, could not touch them in flank. Again, the invaluable manœuvre of mingling musketeers with his scanty cavalry, was successfully practised by Montrose. As he faced about to cover the retreat against the first charge, three of his Redshanks successively brought down their man of the pursuing cavalry, an occurrence which effectually cooled the ardour of chase in the dusk, and checked the advance of the covenanting horse. Thus retreating, facing, and skirmishing, " through the mirkiness of nicht," Montrose went eastward to the coast, and paused, about midnight, near Arbroath, intending to communicate with the portion of his army left at Brechin, and then to make for the mountains. In the meanwhile, Baillie had disposed his troops so as to command all

the known routes from the coast to the Grampians. But Montrose, taking it for granted that he would be thus intercepted by such experienced Generals, turned to the north-west, and passing, by a desperate exertion, his pursuers in the dark, turned north to Kirriemuir, and from thence brought his whole array, sufficiently sobered by their night march, across the Esk to Careston, just as another day dawned upon his desperate fortunes. Here he learnt that the rest of his forces, left at Brechin, had already made the best of their way to the Grampians. So he turned in the same direction, and, although his rear was once more engaged in a skirmish with the advance of Hurry's horse, after a march of three days and two sleepless nights, he gained the mountains, with but a trifling loss from the whole adventure, and sought his lair in the lonely depths of Glenesk.

> Back limp'd, with slow and crippled pace,
> The sulky leaders of the chase.

This long, sleepless, and fighting retreat, accomplished in such victorious order, after the storming of a town, and when taken by surprise, is not among the least of Montrose's achievements. Dr Wishart assures us, "I have often heard those who were esteemed the most experienced officers, not in Britain only, but in France and Germany, prefer this march of Montrose's to his most celebrated victories."*

* Guthrie and Spalding both record that Montrose, upon this occasion, escaped with his army in safety to the hills, and that the covenanting Generals cast the blame on each other. Spalding says,—"It is said, Major Hurry would fain have yokkit (engaged) with Montrose, but Baillie expressly contramandit him." General Baillie's own account is different. He accuses Hurry of failing to charge the rebels in rear with all the power of his horse, and of disobeying (through jealousy) an order to bring the troopers up to Baillie, to charge in flank; "and yet," adds the General, "he was exonered (before the Parliament at Stirling)

The Covenanters, their chroniclers, and their historians, have bitterly inveighed against Montrose, as a monster of human nature, for carrying fire through covenanting Scotland, and wasting the resources of the rebels. The accusation comes with the worst possible grace from those whose party was the first to set the example, under circumstances infinitely less excusable, of that deplorable species of civil war, in which the many innocent must necessarily suffer with the few guilty. Whatever, therefore, may be in this moral reflection on the character of Montrose, it is worthy of no consideration, and indeed is no better than a calumny, in the mouths of the champions of that party, who first made their Covenant a charter for such desolations.* But the excuse of a bad example is not sufficient against the moral objection coming from philosophical historians, who look back with equal horror upon the excesses of both parties during a conflict of the kind. Sir Walter Scott, as if in a spirit of compromise with the clamorous railers against Montrose, speaks of his "acts of ravage, not to be justified, though not unprovoked." Another age of advancing civilization may look back upon Waterloo, and make the same comment upon Wellington. David Hume has pronounced a severer sentence. "Mon-

and I charged *for their escape*." Whatever may be the merits of this dispute, the fact of Montrose's successful retreat, and of the covenanting Generals being in trouble therefore, is thus unquestionable. Yet hear how the Reverend Robert Baillie reports the matter to Spang on the 25th of April. "It was a matter of exceeding joy unto us to hear of the great and first real disaster that Montrose got at Dundee, and of the posture of our country at last, according to our mind, after the flight of the enemy, the killing of 400 or 500 of the best of the Irish, the dissipating of the most of the Scots Highlandmen, the loss of their ammunition and most of their arms, the returning of *the remnant* to the hills and woods." He does not venture to add that Montrose was killed.

* See Vol. i. p. 312, and note.

trose," he says, "fell suddenly upon Argyle's country, and let loose upon it all the rage of war, carrying off the cattle, burning the houses, and putting the inhabitants to the sword; this severity, by which Montrose sullied his victories, was the result of private animosity against the chieftain, as much as of zeal for the public cause." The sentence, we venture to think, is inaccurate in its facts, somewhat crude in the reflection, and altogether unmerited in its severity. Montrose's system was to employ the sword only against armed rebels. It is said, though the instances are not recorded so as to be judged of, that all who were encountered in arms, going to the rendezvous of Argyle's army, were put to death by Montrose's. This is something totally different from the idea conveyed by the expression of putting the inhabitants of Argyle to the sword.* Nor is it very accurate to speak of Montrose having sullied his victories by his severity. Most unquestionably, but for what is here vaguely termed his severity, those victories could not have been. Such rapid and overwhelming successes, as would at once shake the covenanting government to its centre, was his necessary and legitimate, though, as it appeared to others, hopeless object, in order to save the Throne. Those successes he neverthe-

* None of the notices of this invasion, left by Baillie, Spalding, and Guthrie, or by the officer of Macdonald's army, who sent the report to Ormonde, would lead us to infer that Montrose's army had done more than burn and waste the country, and drive off, and kill the cattle. Guthrie indeed expressly says that, as all Argyle's people ran away, there was no blood shed. Wishart, however, says, that the royalists killed all whom they met in arms going to the rendezvous of Argyle, and spared none capable of bearing arms. Baillie simply says, that they "burnt Inverary, killed and spoiled what they pleased." Baillie would have been more particular had his reference been to more than the killing of the cattle. Clearly there was no indiscriminate slaughter of inhabitants.

less achieved, to the amazement of the world, and nothing but the mismanagement of the King's military affairs in England, and his constant discomfiture there, to a degree Montrose could not anticipate, prevented the latter from thus earning the glory of saving the Monarchy. If those victories then were glorious, if their object was legitimate, we must not speak of their being sullied by severities, when, from the circumstances of his undertaking, from the military habits of his country and times, and from the peculiar nature of his military resources, it was absolutely impossible to have accomplished them on other terms. Had the district of Argyle not been ravaged as it was, Mac Cailinmor would not have been at Inverlochy, at the head of his finest gathering, to receive the death-blow of his military power and character in Scotland. And the remark seems equally crude and unjust, that Montrose's system was the result of private animosity against the chieftain, as much as of zeal for the public cause. His contempt for the character of Argyle, and his animosity towards him, was only personal and particular, inasmuch as the covenanting movement was identified with that individual. His dislike and pursuit of Argyle are not to be separated from his love for monarchical government, and determination to preserve it. Montrose had long detected the secret springs of the movement in Scotland, and the real sources of the approaching flood. It was to Argyle and Hamilton he alluded, in his letter of the year 1640, when he said,—" and you great men, if any such be among you so blinded with ambition, who aim so high as the crown, do you think we are so far degenerate from the virtue, valour, and fidelity to our true and lawful Sovereign, as to suffer you, with all your policy, to reign over us ? Take heed you be not Æsop's

dog, and lose the cheese for the shadow in the well." And in March 1644, as Montrose was on his way from Oxford to commence the adventure for which he had just been commissioned, he wrote to Sir Robert Spotiswood, that,—"Argyle, upon the rumour of our coming, is returned to Scotland in haste, to prepare against us there; but we intend to make all possible despatch to follow him at the heels in whatsoever posture we can." This is not the enmity of private rivalry or malice, but of public spirit, in one who saw deeply into the designs of the enemies of good order. The idea, that his predatory campaign was merely the result of ferocious rivalry and malice, is founded upon no mature consideration either of his natural character or the position in which he was placed. The Church of Scotland herself bears witness to the fact, that Montrose was too humane for the arms of the Covenant,* and was not one to indulge in conflagrations where the object could be attained at a cheaper rate. He tells us himself, and it is better evidence than all the calumnies of covenanting malice, that he did every thing in his power to restrain his unpaid soldiery from lawless excess, and spoil on their own account. He wasted the lands of Argyle, but he wasted the lands of Marischal also,† and the all-

* See Vol. i. p. 246, 264, 295.

† Mr Brodie's highest excitement, on the subject of Montrose's malicious cruelty, is when alluding to the burning of Dunnotter, and yet it is founded on a total mistake in point of fact. He says,—"See page 285, of Spalding, for a proof of inexorable cruelty in Montrose, *scarcely credible of one in civilized life.* The men, women, and children, with prayers, tears, and lamentations, addressed him in vain." *Hist.* Vol. iii. p. 537. The passage of Spalding referred to, we have already adopted, (p. 375) and the precise words are,—"It is said, the people of Stanehevin and Cowie cam out, man and woman, children at thair foot, and children in thair armes crying, houlling and weiping, praying *the erll* for Godis cause to saif them from this fyre, howsone it wes kendlit. Bot the poor people

absorbing feeling of his mind, long ere this time, was far above that of a petty or personal feud with either, —it was the intense perception of the fall of the English Monarchy, and the desperate determination to save it, and his Sovereign, or perish in the attempt.

Another consideration enters deeply into the question of the *animus* of Montrose in his devastating progress. He was imbued, to a wonderful extent when his years and public occupations are considered, with all letters most apt to elevate the mind and humanize the heart, namely, the sacred Scriptures, a favourite study of his, and the writings of the ancient historians, philosophers, and poets. His best beloved friends, too, the companions of these very wars, were highly accom-

gat no answer, nor knew they quhair to go with thair children." *Bannatyne edit.* Vol. ii. p. 307. Now this passage does not refer to Montrose at all, who was a *Marquis*, and, three pages before, Spalding speaks of the " Marques of Montrois." The anecdote refers to *the Earl Marischal*, and its obvious meaning is, that the poor people looked to *him* to save them from the fire, either by acceding to Montrose's summons, or by admitting them within the extensive fortifications which sheltered the sixteen ministers. Godwin, in his History of the Commonwealth of England, p. 452, has fallen into the same mistake as Mr Brodie, and made the same use of it. He calls the supposed appeal to Montrose's obdurate heart, " a *memorable instance* of his severity, deservedly selected" by Spalding! Malcolm Laing had obviously put the same mistaken interpretation on Spalding's anecdote. " Stonehaven," he says, " amidst the entreaties and outcries of the inhabitants, was consigned to the flames by the *inexorable* Montrose."

Mr Hallam, in his History of England, Vol. ii. p. 37, speaks of " Montrose, whom the Scots Presbyterian army abhorred, and *very justly*, for his treachery and cruelty, above all men living." This dictum is certainly not founded upon any investigation of the history of Montrose, and probably was rashly derived from Mr Brodie, and perhaps from the very sentence refuted above. Even if there were any rational exposition of the " treachery and cruelty" with which Montrose has been charged, it cannot be said that he was " very justly" abhorred by the Scots Presbyterian army, unless Mr Hallam is also prepared to prove that the Presbyterians were neither *treacherous nor cruel.*

plished, and of the most gentle natures. I have elsewhere* quoted Baillie's description of the covenanting camp, and may here give a picture of Montrose's, so far at least as his influence extended. It is an eye-witness also who says that the camp of the Marquis "was an Academy, admirably replenished with discourses of the best and deepest sciences, whose several parts were strongly held up, under him the head, by those knowing, noble souls, the Earls of Kinnoul and Airly, the Lords of Gordoun, Ogilvy, Naper, and Maderty, and the two famous Spottswoods, Sir Robert and his nephew, whose heads were too precious to be cut off by them who knew not how to understand them. This I am bold to mention, because such noble discourses banished from his quarter all obscene and scurrilous language, with all those offensive, satyrical reflections, which are now the only current wit among us; and if any such peep'd forth in his presence, his severe looks told the speaker it was unwelcome."†

* Vol. i. p. 254.

† This very interesting and curious testimony is from Thomas Sydserf or Saint Serf, a son of Thomas Sydserf, Bishop of Galloway. It occurs in a dedication to the second Marquis of a now rare work, entitled, —"Entertainments of the Cours; or Academical Conversations, held upon the Cours at Paris, by a cabal of the principal wits of that Court; compiled by that eminent and now celebrated author, *Monsieur de Marmet*, Lord of *Valcroissant*, and rendered into English by Thomas Saint Serf, Gent. London: printed by T. C., and are to be sold at the Three Pigeons, in St Paul's Church-yard, 1658." Sydserf mentions that he himself had the honour of being under the great Marquis's command. Some further account of him will be found in "The Miscellany of the Abbotsford Club," now in the course of being privately printed for the Club, under the editorship of James Maidment, Esq. to whom I am indebted for the privilege of seeing the proof-sheets.

## CHAPTER XIV.

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE KING AND MONTROSE AFTER THE BATTLE OF INVERLOCHY.

It is interesting to observe that at the very moment when Montrose was in all the excitement of collecting the clans for his march upon Inverlochy, Charles I. was writing on the subject of our hero to the Secretary Nicholas. The impracticable treaty attempted in 1645 was opened, as is well known, at Uxbridge, on the 30th of January in that year. Of that same date the King writes to Sir Edward Nicholas the following sentence in reference to Scotland and Montrose :—" Tell your fellow Commissioners that if there be any treaty proposed concerning Scotland, (of which I forgot to speak to them at parting,) their answer must be to demand a passport for a gentleman to go from me to see what state the Marquis of Montrose is in, there being no reason that I should treat blindfold in so important a business, nor without the knowledge of him whom I have now chiefly employed in that kingdom, and who hath undertaken my service there with so much gallantry when nobody else would." On the 11th of February his Majesty again writes :—" Nicholas, the directions I gave you concerning sending to Montrose I mean only should extend to those things which merely concern Scotland. * * * I stick close to my former order of sending to Montrose, not being ashamed to avow that I shall be much guided by what I shall hear from him, and should be much more ashamed to

treat, in those things, without at least *communicating* with him who hath hazarded so freely and generously for me." *

* Evelyn papers. This interesting and valuable correspondence seems completely to refute Mr Hallam's view that Charles was so unreasonably elated, with Montrose's successes in Scotland, as to have been rendered thereby foolishly and fatally obstinate in refusing the terms offered at the treaty of Uxbridge. It is manifest, both from that correspondence with his secretary, and also from his correspondence with the Queen, then in Paris, that the King's difficulties and doubts, in bar of that treaty, were not in any degree engendered by Montrose's successes, but existed in their fullest force, while the King was yet in ignorance of the battle of Inverlochy, and indeed of Montrose's position generally in Scotland. One condition, which the Commissioners for the Parliament and Covenant would not abate, was the insane and dishonest demand that presbytery should be established in England, upon the ruins of the Church, even as it existed in Scotland, and that the King himself should not only sign the Covenant, but be guilty of that species of tyranny for which he had already been so falsely maligned in Scotland, namely, of compelling the unwilling consciences of his subjects. It was such demands that occasioned him to write to the Queen,—" I cannot yet send thee any certain word concerning the issue of our treaty, only, the *unreasonable stubbornness* of the rebels, gives daily less and less hopes of any accommodation this way." This had no reference to Montrose, and would have been the King's opinion though Montrose had never existed; yet Mr Hallam (ii. 29.) observes that Charles's " prospects from a continuance of hostilities were so unpromising that most of the royalists would probably have hailed his almost unconditional submission at Uxbridge. Even the steady Richmond and Southampton, it is said, implored him to yield, and deprecated his *misjudging confidence* in promises of foreign aid, or in the successes of Montrose." For this last anecdote Mr Hallam quotes " Baillie, ii. 91." who, however, says something very different, namely—" We were assured, by Richmond and Southampton, that both the King and Queen were so disposed to peace, upon the great extremities wherein their affairs stood, and small hopes from any place to get them helped, that they would embrace the substance of all our propositions, with very small and tolerable modifications." Mr Hallam's version of this sentence is surely somewhat free? The same historian adds; " There seems, indeed, great reason to think that Charles, always sanguine, and incapable of calculating probabilities, was *unreasonably elated* by victories from which no permanent advantage *ought* to have been expected. Burnet confirms this on good authority." But the correspondence to which we have referred, proves that all Charles's original, undisguised, most rational, and insuperable objec-

From this correspondence, and from other most confidential letters written upon the same occasion by Charles to his Queen in Paris, it is scarcely to be doubted that his views, with regard to the treaty of Uxbridge, were not the consequence of any sudden elation derived from communicating with Montrose. His Majesty had indeed formed, from the very beginning, the deliberate and rational determination not to act, as it were, "blindfold" in the essential matter of the Scottish demands, or without consulting his devoted representative in Scotland. That some hope should dawn upon him from that quarter was inevitable. But the hope was neither extravagant in itself, nor did it create those undisguised and unconquerable feelings of repugnance, inherent in the very being of Charles, with which he regarded the demands of the rebel Commissioners. When the Queen heard of the treaty, she too expressed the utmost anxiety and reluctance, not, however, created by the successes of Montrose, towards whom she looked, in her alarm for the safety of the King, rather with desperation than confidence. "I have dispatched," she says in one of those affecting letters, "an express into Scotland to Montrose, to know the

tions to the conditions pressed upon him, were natural to himself, and totally independent of Montrose's victories, and also that at this time he was neither unreasonably nor at all elated by those victories. And suppose he had been elated, not only was it reasonable to expect permanent advantage from the successes in question, but permanent advantage would, in all probability, have flowed from them, had the King even gained one good battle (as he well might) after the treaty was broken off. Baillie's virulent covenanting *dictum* that "the great snare to the King is the unhappy success of Montrose in Scotland,"—and Burnet's fabulous and malicious version of the matter, (both quoted by Mr Hallam,) are all disproved by the King's correspondence on the subject. As for Burnet's "good authority," it is his own report of a conversation with Lauderdale (Montrose's bitter enemy) and Hollis,—about the worst authority possible.

condition he is in, and what there is to be done."* It was not by this express, however, that any knowledge of the contemplated treaty reached Montrose. He learnt the news by a letter from Sir Robert Spotiswood, received only a few days before he fought the battle of Inverlochy. Those who crudely picture him as being at this time solely occupied with the savage excitement of indulging his private animosities, by wasting the territories of his rival, are probably not aware that Montrose accomplished that march across the mountains of Lochaber when his mind was teeming with anxious and far-sighted reflections upon the probable fate of the King, at the mercy of two unprincipled factions, who, with arms in their hands, were dictating to him dishonourable ruin. The following letter, written ere Montrose had rested from the toils and excitement of that desperate march and battle, reflects an image of his mind which the breath of slander is unable to efface :—

" May it please your Sacred Majesty,

" The last dispatch I sent your Majesty was by my worthy friend, and your Majesty's brave servant, Sir William Rollock, from Kintore, near Aberdeen, dated the 14th of September last ; † wherein I acquainted your Majesty with the good success of your arms in this kingdom, and of the battles, the justice of your cause has won over your obdurate rebel subjects.

* Dated, from Paris, January 6th, 1645. See the Works of King Charles, or *Eikon Basilike*, printed by R. Royston, 1662.

† The day after the battle of Aberdeen. The fact of Sir William Rollock being sent with dispatches is mentioned at page 337, where it was derived from Wishart. The above letter, which I had not observed till the page referred to was printed, corroborates Wishart in that and other particulars.

Since Sir William Rollock went I have traversed all the north of Scotland, up to Argyle's country, who durst not stay my coming, or I should have given your Majesty a good account of him ere now. But at last I have met with him, yesterday, to his cost; of which your gracious Majesty be pleased to receive the following particulars.

"After I had laid waste the whole country of Argyle, and brought off provisions, for my army, of what could be found, I received information that Argyle was got together with a considerable army, made up chiefly of his own clan, and vassals and tenants, with others of the rebels that joined him, and that he was at Inverlochy, where he expected the Earl of Seaforth, and the sept of the Frasers, to come up to him with all the forces they could get together. Upon this intelligence I departed out of Argyleshire, and marched through Lorn, Glencow, and Aber, till I came to Lochness, my design being to fall upon Argyle before Seaforth and the Frasers could join him. My march was through inaccessible mountains, where I could have no guides but cow-herds, and they scarce acquainted with a place but six miles from their own habitations. If I had been attacked but with one hundred men in some of these passes, I must have certainly returned back, for it would have been impossible to force my way, most of the passes being so streight that three men could not march abreast.* I was willing to let the world see that Argyle was not the man his Highlandmen believed him to be, and that it was possible to beat him in his own Highlands. The difficultest march of all was over the Lochaber mountains, which we at last surmounted,

* Wishart also records this observation of Montrose.

and came upon the back of the enemy when they least expected us, having cut off some scouts we met about four miles from Inverlochy.* Our van came within view of them about five o'clock in the afternoon, and we made a halt till our rear was got up, which could not be done till eight at night. The rebels took the alarm and stood to their arms, as well as we, all night, which was moonlight, and very clear. There were some few skirmishes between the rebels and us all the night, and with no loss on our side but one man. By break of day I ordered my men to be ready to fall on upon the first signal, and I understand since, by the prisoners, the rebels did the same. A little after the sun was up both armies met, and the rebels fought for some time with great bravery, the prime of the Campbells giving the first onset, as men that deserved to fight in a better cause. Our men, having a nobler cause, did wonders, and came immediately to push of pike, and dint of sword, after their first firing. The rebels could not stand it, but, after some resistance at first, began to run, whom we pursued for nine miles together, making a great slaughter, which I would have hindered, if possible, that I might save your Majesty's misled subjects, for well I know your Majesty does not delight in their blood, but in their returning to their duty. There were at least fifteen hundred killed in the battle and the pursuit, among whom there are a great many of the most considerable gentlemen of the name of Campbell, and some of them nearly related to the Earl.† I

* This corroborates Dr Wishart, who says, "*cæsis eorum speculatoribus, hostibus improvisus imminet.*"

† It is remarkable that Montrose here does not call Argyle Marquis, though he would hardly dispute his title to it. It may have been a slip of Montrose's pen, or because the Covenanters refused to give him, Montrose, his title of Marquis.

have saved and taken prisoners several of them, that have acknowledged to me their fault and *lay all the blame on their Chief.* Some gentlemen of the Lowlands, that had behaved themselves bravely in the battle, when they saw all lost, fled into the old castle, and, upon their surrender, I have treated them honourably, and taken their parole never to bear arms against your Majesty.

* * * * * *

" We have of your Majesty's army about two hundred wounded, but I hope few of them dangerously. I can hear but of four killed, and one whom I cannot name to your Majesty but with grief of mind, Sir Thomas Ogilvy, a son of the Earl of Airly's, of whom I writ to your Majesty in my last. He is not yet dead, but they say he cannot possibly live, and we give him over for dead.* Your Majesty had never a truer servant, nor there never was a braver honester gentleman. For the rest of the particulars of this action, I refer myself to the bearer, Mr Hay, whom your Majesty knows already, and therefore I need not recommend him.

" Now, Sacred Sir, let me humbly intreat your Majesty's pardon if I presume to write you my poor thoughts and opinion about what I heard by a letter I received from my friends in the south, last week, as if your Majesty was entering into a treaty with your rebel Parliament in England. The success of your arms in Scotland does not more rejoice my heart, as that news from England is like to break it. And whatever come of me, I will speak my mind freely to your Majesty, for it is not mine, but your Majesty's interest I seek.

* Sir Thomas Ogilvy died a few days after the battle, and was buried by Montrose in Athol.

"When I had the honour of waiting upon your Majesty last, I told you at full length what I fully understood of the designs of your Rebel subjects in both kingdoms, which I had occasion to know as much as any one whatsoever, being at that time, as they thought, entirely in their interest. Your Majesty may remember how much you said you were convinced I was in the right in my opinion of them. I am sure there is nothing fallen out since to make your Majesty change your judgment in all those things I laid before your Majesty at that time. *The more your Majesty grants, the more will be asked, and I have too much reason to know that they will not rest satisfied with less than making your Majesty a King of straw.* I hope the news I have received about a treaty may be a mistake, and the rather that the letter wherewith the Queen was pleased to honour me, dated the 30th of December,* mentions no such thing. Yet I know not what to make of the intelligence I received, since it comes from Sir Robert Spotiswood, who writes it with a great regret; and it is no wonder, considering no man living is a more true subject to your Majesty than he. Forgive me, Sacred Sovereign, to tell your Majesty that, in my poor opinion, it is unworthy of a King to treat with Rebel subjects, while they have the sword in their hands. And though God forbid I should stint your Majesty's mercy, yet I must declare the horror I am in when I think of a treaty, while your Majesty and they are in the field with two armies, unless they disband, and submit themselves entirely to your Majesty's goodness and pardon.

"As to the state of affairs in this kingdom, the

* This must refer to the express mentioned by the Queen in the extract from her letter quoted at p. 389–90.

bearer will fully inform your Majesty in every particular. And give me leave, with all humility, to assure your Majesty that, through God's blessing, I am in the fairest hopes of reducing this kingdom to your Majesty's obedience. And, if the measures I have concerted with your other loyal subjects fail me not, which they hardly can, I doubt not before the end of this summer I shall be able to come to your Majesty's assistance with a brave army, which, backed with the justice of your Majesty's cause, will make the Rebels in England, as well as in Scotland, feel the just rewards of Rebellion. Only give me leave, after I have reduced this country to your Majesty's obedience, and conquered from Dan to Beersheba, to say to your Majesty then, as David's General did to his master, 'come thou thyself lest this country be called by my name.' * For in all my actions I aim only at your Majesty's honour and interest, as becomes one that is to his last breath, may it please your Sacred Majesty,—

"Your Majesty's most humble, most faithful, and most obedient Subject and Servant,

"MONTROSE."

"*Inverlochy in Lochaber*,
*February 3d*, 1645." †

* II. Sam. xii. 26, 27, 28. "And Joab fought against Rabbah of the children of Ammon, and took the royal city. And Joab sent messengers to David and said, I have fought against Rabbah, and have taken the city of waters. Now, therefore, gather the rest of the people together, and encamp against the city, and take it, lest I take the city, and it be called after my name."

† I had omitted to consult the Memoirs of Dr Welwood before the description of the battle of Inverlochy, given in the previous chapter, (and which was derived from the various accounts of Wishart, Spalding, Guthrie, and Baillie,) was sent to the printer. The above letter of Montrose's is contained in the appendix to those memoirs. It appears to have been very little observed, or quoted, and is not contained in any of the appendices to the various translations of Dr Wishart's work. Dr

If, according to the story of Dr Welwood, the King was on the point of putting his own hand to the death-warrant of the Monarchy, when he received this letter from Montrose, which altered, it is said, his resolution, then Montrose saved his Sovereign from that dishonour, and his victories were not in vain. But not only is the theory totally unconfirmed by Clarendon, but it is manifest from the King's own letters, that he was prepared for the result of the treaty before he got Montrose's letter. On the 15th of February he writes to the Queen, that he is hopeless of the treaty. On the 19th, after again alluding to the "unreasonable stubbornness," which made him despair of peace, he adds what is clearly a reference to Montrose's letter just received: "Though I leave news to others, yet I cannot but tell thee that *even now* I have received certain intelligence of a great defeat given to Argyle by Montrose, who, upon surprise, totally routed those rebels, killed fifteen hundred upon the place." But the news has no particular influence on the sentiments the King had all along expressed as to the treaty, and accordingly his Majesty, following out the original train and tone of this confidential correspondence, on the 5th of March

Welwood wrote his Memoirs before the conclusion of the century in which Montrose suffered. He tells us that the letter is from a manuscript copy he saw in the hand-writing of the Duke of Richmond, meaning, we presume, the friend of Charles I. It bears internal evidence of its authenticity, and is a document so interesting and important to the illustrations of Montrose's career that no apology need be offered for repeating it here. Dr Welwood considers this letter to have been the cause of the King's not acceding to the terms at Uxbridge, a theory which, for the reasons already assigned, I have not been able to adopt. In the part of the letter we have printed with asterisks, Dr Welwood had inserted this parenthesis of his own:—"Here are six or seven lines that, for the honour of some families, are better left out than mentioned." It is a pity Montrose's letter was thus mutilated. Probably the passage omitted referred to the conduct of Argyle and his friends in the same boat during the battle.

thus writes to the Queen, "Now is come to pass, what I foresaw,—the fruitless end, as to a present peace, of this treaty."

Montrose's quaint and characteristic conclusion of his letter, in which he refers to the message of Joab to King David, may be interpreted as meaning that he had no lurking design or desire, like Hamilton and Argyle, to effect his own aggrandizement by these successes, but that he wished the King himself to partake of them in person. And there is some reason to believe that Charles, who was now within one battle of utter ruin in England, had taken the hint, and was anxious to co-operate with Montrose. It appears, however, from his correspondence with Sir Edward Nicholas, that Charles was not suffered to communicate with his representative in Scotland, even while the treaty was pending, and now that hostilities were renewed, it was a perilous adventure to carry the King's instructions to Montrose. From the illustration noted below,* we gather that the scheme, first adopted by the Covenanters, of employing as their diplomatists, pedlars, whose apparent occupation was to sell puritanical tracts, was now imitated by those who brought intelligence to the Royal Lieutenant. The King himself was obliged to trust to some such precarious channel for conveying

* In "The Covent Garden Drollery," printed 1672, are some verses relating to Montrose's friend, Saint Serf, (from whose dedication we have quoted in the previous chapter) which, referring to the Covenanters, tell us,—

> Once like a pedlar, they have heard thee brag
> How thou didst cheat their sight, and save thy craig,
> When to the Great Montrose, under pretence
> Of *godly bukes*, thou brought'st *intelligence*.

intelligence and commands to his Lieutenant in Scotland. Not long after Montrose had retreated into the mountains from the storming of Dundee, a person in the habit of a common beggar reached him there, and delivered a packet of letters from the south, including a letter from the King himself, probably the reply to that we have quoted. The messenger was James Small of Fotherance, who for a long period had filled some post at Court of England, and now proved both his courage and his attachment to the King, by volunteering to pass disguised into Scotland, on the dangerous mission of carrying royal letters, at this critical juncture, to the victorious Montrose. It was probably about the middle of April that he reached our hero in safety, who was resting among the Grampians after his escape from Baillie and Hurry. Before the 19th of that month all was bustle and activity in the camp of the Royalists, as if some new undertaking were at hand. Lord Gordon set out for his own country, with the Huntly cavaliers who had adhered to the Standard, in hopes of reclaiming his wayward brother, and of raising the whole power of his house in arms for the King. Allaster Macdonald and a regiment of his Irish were dispatched further into the Highlands, to make up fresh levies, while young Inchbrakie, the idol of the Athol men, was sent to that loyal district to bring back the Highlanders, who had gone home on leave of absence, which they would have taken had it not been granted. Montrose retained around himself about five hundred foot, and fifty horse, with which, instead of lurking like a Captain of Banditti among the mountains, he suddenly emerged from his retreat, and was far to the south of the Gram-

pians in little more than a week from the time when he took refuge there from the pursuit of those who valued his head at twenty thousand crowns. His motions appeared to be the result of magic. "In effect," says Spalding, after attempting to give some idea of his progress at this time, "we had no certainty where he went, he was so obscure." The Covenanters, although they affected to say that the last chase had destroyed him, and that he had been driven with only a remnant to the hills, made the most formidable preparations against his reappearance. Hurry, with about twelve hundred foot, and one hundred and sixty horse, was dispatched to the north, where, in conjunction with Marischal and the northern Covenanters, he was instructed to traverse the counties of Aberdeen, Moray, and Inverness. Baillie, with another army, was stationed at Perth, from whence he was to make excursions into Montrose's favourite haunts in Athol, and to be ready to join the army in the north, or to protect the south, as occasion might require. Argyle, with the remnant of his Highlanders, reinforced by fifteen hundred of the troops from Ireland, went into his own devastated country, where there was now less chance of Montrose making his appearance than in any other quarter. "So," says the Reverend Robert Baillie, "by God's help, in a little time, we hope to get such order of these our troubles, that Scotland shall be in peace, and send back the soldiers now it makes use of, with such increase, that Leslie, with a better army than yet he has commanded, shall march over Trent and Monro to Connaught and Munster."

No sooner had these arrangements been made, than General Baillie obtained the startling intelligence that Montrose, with very slender accompaniment, had occu-

pied the village of Crieff, within a few miles of Baillie's leaguer, and seemed to be meditating a descent upon the Lowlands. The covenanting General instantly attempted to surprise Montrose by a night march upon Crieff, with two thousand foot, and five hundred horse. But our hero anticipating such an attack, covered the retreat of his Redshanks with the few horse he had, and again sustaining the whole weight of the enemy's cavalry, repulsed and threw them into disorder. Then hurrying on his little army, by means of one of those marches not to be disputed, he took possession of the pass of Stratherne, establishing himself for the rest of the night about the head of Loch Earn. On the following day, which was the 19th of April, or thereabouts, the Royal Standard, as if it had been charmed against all mortal foes, was flaunting far westward among the Braes of Balquhidder, and onwards in the direction of Loch Katherine, having distanced all its enemies,—

> So shrewdly on the mountain-side
> Had the brave burst their mettle tried.

Montrose had now before him a very different scene from the wilds and rugged wildernesses of his recent adventures. His position was almost precisely that of the noble stag pictured in the Lady of the Lake, as pausing on the southern side of the mountains overlooking the varied realms of fair Menteith, and as if pondering a refuge from his toil in the romantic country beneath. His eye, too, wandered anxiously over mountain and meadow, moss and moor, but the anxiety was not for his own safety. Nor was it in search of his enemies, nor yet to visit the favourite haunts of his boyhood, that he now passed with his little band along the shores of Loch Katherine, and by Lochard and Aberfoil to

the lake of Menteith, and the neighbourhood of Ruskie and the Keir. It was to meet his nephew, (the young lord of Napier-Ruskie,) and the young laird of Keir, both of whom, unknown to their relations, had formed a plan to enable them to share the already famous adventures of Montrose, and, having escaped from confinement, were now lurking about their paternal domains on the banks of the Forth and the Teith. It was about the 21st of April that Montrose met them betwixt the lake of Menteith and the ford of Cardross, and their presence was some compensation for the loss of his sons so lately torn from him by death and captivity. About this same time, too, Montrose was more than compensated for the defection of Lord Lewis Gordon, by the presence of Huntly's second son, the Viscount of Aboyne. This nobleman had remained in Carlisle ever since Montrose's first expedition into Scotland, and it would seem as if some doubts of the success of our hero's adventure had hitherto restrained the former from attempting to join him. Certain it is, that now when Carlisle was invested by the army of David Leslie, and the attempt to escape from it involved no small degree of peril, Aboyne determined to attach himself to the fortunes of the King's Lieutenant. Montrose was informed of this resolution by a letter, probably contained in the packet delivered by James Small, and the young Viscount most gallantly accomplished his design, having broke through the whole covenanting forces, accompanied with some sixteen or twenty horse, and so reached the Standard in safety about the 19th of April. They were, says Spalding, and we may believe him, "all joyful of utheris" (each other.)* But what proved joy to them

* Wishart says that Aboyne met Montrose at Balquhidder on the 19th

brought death to the poor messenger. He had passed through the Highlands successfully, and was now returning in the same disguise to the King, with letters from Montrose. He crossed the Forth at Alloa, and was safe with the loyal family of Mar. But at Elphinston, some one who had known him in England betrayed the unfortunate gentleman to Lord Elphinston, the uncle of Balmerino, and a member of the Committee of Estates. Elphinston sent him, with the letters found on his person, to the merciless tribunal at Edinburgh, and on the day following, which was the 1st of May, he was hanged at the Cross, by command of the Committee, and to the great satisfaction of the Kirk. "By these letters," says Bishop Guthrie, "the Committee came to know what they never had thought on, namely, how the King's business being so forlorn in England that he could not make head against his enemies there, his Majesty designed to come with his army to Scotland, and to join Montrose; and so this country being made the seat of war, his enemies might be forced to an accommodation, to free their lands from a burden which it could not stand under;

of April, before the latter went on to Loch Katherine. Guthrie says they met at the ford of Cardross, Aboyne having escaped from Carlisle with only sixteen horse. He also says that "the Master of Napier, a gallant youth both for body and mind, having, since Montrose went first to the field, been in company with his noble father, the Lord Napier, and Sir George Stirling of Keir, his brother-in-law, under confinement in Holyroodhouse, resolved at length to break loose, and, getting safely away, he came to his uncle at Cardross upon Monday, April twenty-first." Spalding says, that "the Lord of Aboyne, the Master of Napier, the Laird of Dalgety, the Laird of Keir, younger, with the Earl of Nithisdale and Lord Herries, had broken out of Carlisle with about twenty-eight horse, through David Leslie's army, desperately, yet happily safe and sound." Spalding, however, was mistaken in supposing that young Napier and young Keir came from Carlisle.

the prevention of which design was afterwards gone about with success." They might have been contented with intercepting the letters, and have spared the unhappy messenger of Charles the First. But Montrose was not likely to retaliate, upon any in his hands, for the death of an obscure individual, and knowing this, the extraordinary thirst for the lives of their political opponents, which characterized the councils of the Covenant, was so far gratified by the cruel and cowardly act of the execution of this poor man. Was it possible the dominant clergy could have persuaded themselves that cruelty and anti-Christian feelings were the attributes only of their enemies? Or was it to blind the vulgar, or to drown the voice of conscience, or to keep their places, that they uttered those fearful execrations from the pulpit? At this time they had again got up the agitation of a fast, what Baillie called betaking themselves to their old rock—" turning to God."! One honest man, at least, in Aberdeen, was not mystified by these usurpers of the " chair of Verity." The portrait he draws is unquestionably faithful. He was an ear and an eye-witness, and, moreover, though he happened to be " malignant," a truly Christian-hearted man. It is Spalding to whom we refer, and he has recorded the following description of the political fast, held in Aberdeen on the 6th of April 1645.

" Mr William Strathauchin, on this day of humiliation, cryit out against Montrose and his army, calling them bloody butchers, traitors, perfidious, and of the hellish crew, with many other detestable speeches, unmeet to be uttered by a minister out of the chair of Verity. Mr Andrew Cant, and Mr John Rew, with Mr William Robertson were as malicious; and large war against them [the royalists] in their pulpits.

Cant was heard to rail against the King's own commission granted to Montrose, and spared not to call him and his army murtherers, bloody butchers, rebels, and excommunicate traitors. Whereat some of well-disposed auditors did tremble, wondering at the railing of the ministry every where,—wicked counsellors, and evil instruments from the beginning of thir troubles. But no repentance for the mother sin, which is, ryving of the King's royal prerogatives from him, and his rents and living within this kingdom, which has bred this misery, and God's wrath,—pest and sword."

## CHAPTER XV.

AULDERNE—ALFORD—KILSYTH.

It was now Montrose's turn to pursue. On the shores of Loch Katherine he learnt that Sir John Hurry, with an overwhelming force, was threatening Lord Gordon in the north, at Auchindoun, while Baillie with another army was burning the beautiful district of Athol, even up to the Castle of Blair, where Montrose kept his prisoners, and all the military stores of which he was possessed. Our hero's system of tactics, as we have elsewhere observed, was that which the greatest military geniuses are the most apt to adopt, and by whom alone it can be adopted with effect, namely, rapid movements, with his whole force, from point to point, so as to destroy a preponderating enemy in detail. It is remarkable how applicable to Montrose is the following description of Napoleon, who, (says Sir Walter Scott,) "was like lightning in the eyes of his enemies; and, when repeated experience had taught them to expect this rapidity of movement, it sometimes induced his opponents to wait in a dubious and hesitating posture for attacks, which, with less apprehension of their antagonist, they would have thought it more prudent to frustrate and to anticipate." When Hurry, anxiously on the look-out for his meteor-like enemy, had good reason to believe that the Grampians were still betwixt them, Montrose was within a few miles of his leaguer in Strathbogie. The latter started from Menteith in

pursuit of Hurry, with but a section of his small army, and this almost totally unprovided with ammunition. Retracing his steps to Balquhidder, and thence marching along the whole side of Loch Tay, he passed through Athol and Angus, until he came to the Grampians. Then climbing the mountains betwixt him and Glenmuck, and pressing onwards into the heart of Mar, he crossed the Dee at the Miln of Crathie, and was at Skene about the end of April. There he paused for want of ammunition, to procure which Lord Aboyne was despatched, with about eighty horse, to Aberdeen. That daring young nobleman took possession of the town, carefully set his watches, and then boarded two vessels lying in the harbour, out of which he took twenty barrels of gunpowder, and returned with the welcome plunder that same night to Montrose at Skene. This was on Thursday the 1st of May. Here, also, Montrose effected the re-union with Lord Gordon, who, from his father's place of Auchindoun, joined the Royal army on the Dee, with a thousand foot and two hundred horse. About the same time Macdonald returned with his division. And now Montrose was ready for Sir John Hurry.

Meanwhile that good, but not true, knight, having obtained intelligence of Montrose's approach, just in time for a start, made off in all haste for the Spey, which he crossed with the view of joining the northern Covenanters. Montrose chased him at the heels from Elgin to Forres, and from that to Inverness, where Hurry succeeded in his object, and was formidably reinforced by the Frazers and other Covenanters of Moray and Caithness, under the Earls of Seaforth * and

* " Seaforth was thought to be a perfidious traitor, who, after he was

Sutherland. Montrose encamped at the village of Aulderne, with a force variously estimated at from two to three thousand foot and horse,* but so far inferior to the combined forces of the Covenanters, that his desire now was not to risk a battle. Hurry, however, equally conscious of his present superiority, advanced upon the position of the Royalists, as if determined to press his advantage. The moment was a critical one, and perhaps upon no other occasion of his brilliant career did Montrose so eminently display his military genius. If he avoided the offered battle, Baillie, now hurrying to the Spey, would be up in the rear, before the Royalists could elude the enemy in front; therefore he instantly determined to accept the challenge. But he did so at great disadvantage. Besides being vastly out-numbered, the Royal army was deprived of half its value by standing on the defensive, a posture in which the usual effect of their im-

deeply sworn by Montrose to the King's service, and upon his parole had got leave to go home, whereas Montrose might have kept him still in his company, yet, forgetting his oath made before God, his duty to his Prince, and this nobleman, his Majesty's General, he lap into the other side, as ye here see, where he came in and gave his oath."—*Spalding.*

* Dr Wishart says, that Montrose's army at this time consisted of fifteen hundred foot, and two hundred and fifty horse; and that Hurry had now with him three thousand five hundred foot, and two hundred and fifty horse. Spalding says, that Hurry was estimated at four thousand foot and five hundred horse, and that Montrose was estimated at about three thousand foot and horse. Dr Wishart has been accused of always understating Montrose's forces in order to increase his glory. But the discrepances in the various statements are not a feather in the scale of his actions. Unquestionably, he gained the most of his battles under every disadvantage of military resources (except his own genius and the courage of his men) and with fearful odds against him. But it is rash to reject the numbers, when precisely given by Wishart, who must have had his information from Montrose himself, and both Montrose and his chaplain knew well, that the record of those actions required not the aid of a false statement of numbers.

petuosity was lost, and their want of steadiness and discipline very apt to be manifested. To make up for all these odds against him, Montrose had selected a very strong position, and displayed consummate skill in the disposal of his battle. The village of Aulderne stood on an eminence, overlooking a valley, and several small hills, rising from behind the village, confused the view of it to those standing at any distance. The front of the village was covered by a few dikes answering the purpose of temporary ramparts, and a like advantage was derived from the rugged sides of the valley. Montrose's object being to conceal his weakness, no less than to aid it by strength of position, he contrived to obscure nearly the whole of his forces in the valley, and behind these natural fortifications. The lion-hearted MacColl, with four hundred of his Irish, Montrose ensconced, sore against their will, among the enclosures, rocks, and brushwood, of some broken ground on the right, with peremptory instructions that on no account were they to be drawn from their safe position by the temptation of an attack. To this division he consigned the Royal Standard, usually carried before himself, rightly judging that the sight of it would draw the whole strength of the attack upon that impregnable point. The rest of his forces, (with the exception of a few picked musketeers placed with some cannon on the height, directly in front of the village,) Montrose carried over to his left wing, himself taking charge of the foot, and Lord Gordon commanding the horse. His main battle and reserve were left to the imagination of the enemy, for in reality our hero could not afford upon the present occasion to indulge in any such luxuries. It must be remembered, that he was deprived of the invaluable

assistance of most of the Athol men, who had recently returned to their own country, in consequence of General Baillie's fiery career through that district.

As Montrose had anticipated, Hurry sent his best and most experienced troops, including the regiments of Loudon, Lothian, Lawers, and Buchanan, with the most of his cavalry, against the Royal Standard, and directed the rest of his attack upon the front of the village, which points were simultaneously assailed in the most gallant and persevering manner. Now it was that Montrose prepared to charge, from his obscurity on the left, with the whole weight of his army upon the centre of the Covenanters, while their left wing was kept at bay and occupied, as he hoped, by Macdonald in his trenches. But he had over-rated the prudence of that loyal fire-eater, who, thrown off his guard by the taunts of the veterans sent against him, had made a dash from the enclosures with his desultory followers, and was instantly attacked, and nearly surrounded by the flower of Hurry's infantry, and by the cavalry under Captain Drummond. At this critical moment, some one on whose information he could perfectly rely, whispered in Montrose's ear, 'Macdonald is routed on the right.' The reply, even of a brave man and a good soldier, might well have been, then all is lost. Montrose instantly exclaimed,—'Come, come, my Lord Gordon, shall Macdonald with his Irish carry all before him, and leave no glory for the House of Huntly and the Gordons? Charge!'—And the finest charge ever made by the chivalry of Strathbogie sprung at the voice, not of Huntly, but of the chief of the Grahams.

Montrose may have winced when he heard that Macdonald was routed, but had he hesitated half a second the day was irretrievably lost. His right wing, owing to the rashness of its leader, had been complete-

ly overpowered, and it was almost by the individual exertions of that leader himself that his scattered troops were enabled to regain some temporary protection from the covenanting horse. At the moment when the charge of the Gordons drove Hurry's dragoons out of the field, and when Montrose cut down and routed the battalions thereby exposed, the right wing of the Royalists was represented by Allaster MacColl Keitache Macdonald MacGillespic, who now stood, like another Cocles, singly opposed to the whole shock of battle, protecting himself with a target which, for size, weight, and consistency, might have been the door of a tolbooth. More than once was it crowded with the spears of his antagonists, and the chance of the Monarchy seemed now reduced to the success that might attend the career of his gigantic claymore, as he severed the heads from those spears in groups at a blow, with an occasional backhander at the heads of their owners. It was this, and other similar feats of personal prowess not unfrequently performed by him during the wars of Montrose, that rendered the name of the redoubtable MacColl more memorable in Highland tradition, than that of the great Marquis himself. Yet it was well for him then that Montrose came on like a whirlwind from the victorious charge on the opposite wing, and driving the rebel horse even through the centre of the rebel infantry, cut down the best and bravest regiments that owned the Covenant, on the spot where they stood.

General Baillie, in the defence of himself we have elsewhere quoted, mentions that of twelve hundred foot which Hurry took with him to Inverness, the whole perished at Aulderne. Many more fell besides, for the Royalists, who followed the chase for some miles, gave little quarter, and the loss of the Covenanters is variously estimated at from two to three thousand slain.

The reader will be interested with the note addressed by Montrose to Gordon of Buckie, at the Bog of Gight, or Gordon Castle, the day after the battle.

"*For my loving friend the Goodman of Buckie.*"

"LOVING FRIEND,

"Having directed some of our wounded men to the Boge,* I could not but congratulate our victory yesterday unto you, which by the blessing of God hath been very absolute, as you will learn particularly from those who were present at the battle. So, being confident of your constant resolution and fidelity,—I remain,

Your loving friend,

"MONTROSE."†

"*Aulderne, 10th of May* 1645."

* From all accounts there were not above twenty royalists killed, and two hundred wounded; and none of distinction.

† Burnet asserts that Montrose was apt to be vain-gloriously uplifted and boastful after his victories. The above letter is another witness against the trust-worthiness of the bishop's characteristics. I am indebted for the illustration, and also for the following unprinted letter of Montrose's, of a prior date, to the obliging attention of the Rev. Mr Taylor of King's College, Aberdeen; and the liberality of Lady Bruce of Stenhouse, whose ancestor was John Gordon of Buckie.

"SIR,

"From the friendly assurances have passed amongst us, and my trust in that, I must by these intreat you be pleased to take the pains to meet me at Invernry on Saturday next, the fifteenth of this instant, betimes in the morning, for what does very much concern his Majesty's service, the honour and standing of the house of Huntly, and the weals and credit of all who belong to it. Which remitting until meeting,—I am,

"Your affectionate friend,

"MONTROSE."

"*Pennyburne, 10th March* 1645."

The address is lost, but there can be no doubt this letter, too, was written to Lady Bruce's ancestor. Gordon of Buckie was in command of "the Boge," where Montrose had been early in March, when his son died in the Castle. See *supra*, p. 371, and *infra*, p. 422.

Mungo Campbell of Lawers* fell, with his whole regiment, on the spot where they had routed the right wing of the Royalists. With him died Sir John and Sir Gideon Murray, and many brave and distinguished officers. Sixteen colours, their whole baggage, ammunition, and money, fell into the hands of the Royalists. Hurry himself, the Earls of Seaforth, Sutherland, and Findlater, the Lairds of Boyne, Innes, Birkenbog, and others, narrowly escaped with the horse to Inverness. If there was excessive slaughter, the Covenanters, as usual, had previously provoked it. Gordon of Sallagh, the contemporary historian of the Earls of Sutherland, a covenanting chronicler, says,—"the slaughter of James Gordon of Struders made them take the fewer prisoners, and give the less quarter." The particulars of that murder are recorded by Spalding. In a skirmish which had occurred shortly before, as Montrose was chasing Hurry to Inverness, James Gordon, son to George Gordon of Rynie, being severely wounded, was conveyed to the house of a friend, where he remained to be cured, with a gentleman of the name of Gordon to nurse him. Major Sutherland and the young Laird of Innes, learning this fact, sent out a party from Elgin, commanded by one Captain Smith, who "cruelly murder this young gentleman lying sore wounded, and left his keeper also for death; this was thought an odious deed, barbarous and inhuman, this youth not passing eighteen years of age, which was well revenged by Montrose at Aulderne." No wonder the swords of the Gordons were red that day.

The rage of the covenanting Government display-

* See him mentioned, Vol. i. p. 498.

ed itself in their treatment of some of Montrose's friends in the south, an anecdote which I shall here translate from Dr Wishart: "In that battle of Aulderne the bravery of young Napier shone forth with signal lustre. His father was the Lord Napier of Merchiston, his mother the sister of Montrose. Not long before he had made his escape to his uncle, from Edinburgh, without the knowledge even of his father and his own wife. In this battle he afforded no mean specimen of his early promise, and displayed the substantial rudiments of a noble nature. On this account the Committee of Estates took his father, (a man on the verge of seventy, and than whom a better Scotland in this age hath never produced,) his wife, a daughter of the Earl of Mar, his brother-in-law, Stirling of Keir, (also a most excellent man, the chief of his race, and one who for his loyalty had long and severely suffered,) his two sisters, the one, a very noble lady, married to Keir, the other, a young maiden,*—and cast them all into a dungeon, from whence they were destined to be liberated by the Master of Napier himself, under the victorious auspices of his uncle."

Among those melancholy fragments in the Napier charter-chest, from which we have already drawn so much in illustration of the times, there is a scrap entitled, "*copia vera* of a letter to my Lord Balmerino." It is in the hand-writing of the venerable Lord Napier, and is the corrected draft of a letter written in his prison, about a month after the battle of Aulderne, to the President of the Committee of Estates. The picture it affords of the covenanting Government is not a little instructive.

* Lilias Napier, who was just eighteen.

"My Lord,

"In regard of your Lordship's friendly expressions toward me,* in the hearing of this gentleman, the Laird of Lamerton, (of which I shall ever be most sensible,) I cannot but complain to you, in private, of the hard measure both I and mine do suffer, beyond my fears, or other men's hopes. Upon all occasions, to be fined, confined, and imprisoned, my houses and lands plundered, my tenants beggared! As for my penalty, I confess it is due by my son's escape, and I was ready to give satisfaction for it. But to be clapt up in prison, and by that means branded with a mark of infamy, as a malefactor or enemy to my country, and exposed to the bad conceit and obloquy of the whole nation, I conceive is a punishment greater by many degrees than the penalty. It is a wound to my honour and reputation, which men of honour prefer to life or fortune. And yet, my Lord, I must not speak of conditions, or capitulate with the Estates? Indeed, if I were a delinquent, I could plead nothing but mercy and favour. But, not being so, all princes and states allow particulers, [*i. e.* parties] in matters of justice, to speak reason and to demand conditions, in respective terms, (and never thought it a derogation to their majesty, or a blemish to their honour,) and to defend their innocency, without submitting to pleasure, which, in cases of justice, to do or accept *ressents* † arbitrary government, which we all condemn so much, and that justly. Neither ought I to be put in this condition for reasons of state,—

* Balmerino appears also to have been conscious of the injustice done to Montrose on a former occasion. See p. 56. Archibald Johnston in his correspondence, indicates that he considered Balmerino required to be stirred up.

† *Sic in orig.* The word and the construction are both obscure, but the sense is obvious.

upon fear I might have joined with the enemy. For what benefit can the enemy get (if I were so foolish) by my company, being ould and not fit for fighting, nor yet for counsel, having no skill nor experience in warlike business? Or what prejudice were it to the State, instead of one man, of whom they could make no use, to have his estate to maintain twenty, every one better able to do them service than he.* Not-the-less of all this expostulation with your Lordship, as my noble friend, I am most willing to give the Estates satisfaction, after the reasonable petition of my son-in-law, and my daughters, receiveth a favourable answer. For without them I value not my liberty, and therefore desireth to be spared till then. At which time I shall give satisfaction for my fine, upon your Lordship's assurance in honour, under your hand, that I shall be transported to the place assigned to them, being a place free from apparent danger of the plague; and that I may have liberty to go to my lands be-west the brig of Stirling, to give order for labouring and possessing of them, after all this spoyle, and to return to the place of confinement again (if ye shall not be pleased to grant full liberty) under the same penalty I was confined before." "3 June." [1645.]

This appeal was not successful. Lord Napier and his family continued to be subjected to solitary confinement for two months longer, under the circumstances indicated by the following entries in the original MS. Record of the covenanting Parliament.

Of date, 30th July 1645, there is recorded an act for the liberation of Archibald Lord Napier, which narrates the

* *i. e.* If Lord Napier joined the Royalists in arms, the Covenanters would take possession of his estates.

terms of a supplication from his Lordship, making mention that " he has remained prisoner within the Castle of Edinburgh this many weeks bygone, whereof a long season in close ward, none having access to him, where-through he is not only in great hazard of his life, through infection of the plague of pestilence, the sickness being now come within the bounds of the said Castle, whereof six persons are already dead, but likewise makes him altogether unable to perform that which the said Estates has ordained anent the payment of the sum incurred by him through his son's escape." Lord Napier also refers to a letter from the Constable of the Castle, testifying the recent death of six individuals within its walls from the plague. The Estates grant the petition, and ordain Lord Napier to be liberated from the Castle, but that he is forthwith " to pass and remain either within the town of Haddington, or within a mile about the same, or to remain in his own house of Merchiston, or within a mile about the same, at his option,"—and this under caution for forty thousand merks, John Lord Erskine being cautioner.

Then follows, in the same Record, an act for the liberation of the Mistress of Napier, and Mistress Lilias Napier, upon their joint supplication, narrating that " whereas it hath pleased the Committee of Estates to commit them to ward within the Castle of Edinburgh, where they have remained in close prison long, none having access to them." The petition proceeds to narrate that the plague is raging around and within the walls of the Castle, and that six have already died, as certified by the Constable, " which" they pitiously declare, " now hath added great fear to their former comfortless estates." This petition is granted, but the ladies are ordained—" immediately after their removal from

the said Castle of Edinburgh, to pass and remain in family with John Earl of Mar, to the which place the saids Estates have confined them,"—and the Earl and his son Lord Erskine are required to be their cautioners, in twenty thousand merks each, that they remain there or within a mile about it.

The next entry in reference to this subject is dated 7th August 1645, being an act for the liberation of "James Graham, son to James Graham, formerly Earl of Montrose;" and it proceeds upon a similar petition, referring to the danger incurred from the plague. And they "ordain the said James Graham, supplicant, to be delivered to the Earl of Dalhousie to be educated, the Lord Carnegie being caution for his good carriage and behaviour, under the pain of forty thousand pounds."

Of the same date follows the act for the liberation of Sir George Stirling of Keir, and his petition narrates that he "has been confined partly in the Castle of Edinburgh, and partly in the Castle of Blackness, since April last, whereof by the space of a month in close prison." He is allowed to pass to Linlithgow, and to meet and converse with his lady, and to confine himself within his former bounds there, under his former bond of caution.

Notwithstanding these entries in the Record of the Covenanting Parliament, there is every reason to believe, as we shall presently show, that none of the parties were released in terms of the deliverance on their respective petitions, or, at all events, that they had been again committed to close confinement before the battle of Kilsyth. *

* The Lord Lyon's notes of the Parliamentary proceedings agree, so far as they go, with the record quoted: "Thursday, 31st July 1645,

Having destroyed a fourth army to the Covenant, and cleared the north of his enemy, Montrose marched to Elgin, where he remained for a few days, that his wounded men might benefit by the medical assistance which the town afforded. During this pause, however, an example was made of all those who had participated in the cruel murder of young Gordon of Rynie, (especially the Laird of Innes and Major Sutherland,) by laying waste their lands and houses, an act which, as usual, has been exaggerated and unfairly stated against Montrose by covenanting writers.* Montrose then

The House ordains the Mistress of Napier, and the Lord Napier's daughter, to be enlarged from prison out of Edinburgh Castle; the Lord Erskine obliging himself, and his father, the Earl of Mar, for their carriage and modest behaviour in time coming; as also for their compearance whensoever the Parliament shall call them. The House releases the Lord Napier from his imprisonment in Edinburgh Castle, and confines him to the town of Haddington, or his own house of Merchiston, he acting himself for his compearance when he shall be called, under the pain of 40,000 merks." Yet it will be seen in the sequel, that Lord Napier and his family, and the young Lord Graham, were all in close confinement at the time of the battle of Kilsyth, which was the 15th of August. In the Napier charter-chest I find the following original document.

"I, Archibald Sydserff, depute to Mr Adam Hepburne of Humbie, grant me, by thir presents, to have received from Archibald Lord Napier the sum of ten thousand pounds Scots money, incurred by him as cautioner for his son, for breaking of his confinement. In witness whereof, I have written and subscribed these presents, at Perth the sixth day of August 1645. Archibald Sydserff."

But they retained him in prison, notwithstanding the payment of this sum, equivalent to betwixt eight and nine hundred pounds Sterling, a great sum in those days.

* "Montrose, more ferocious than ever, ravaged the whole district anew, committing to the flames the gleanings he had in his former rapacious and merciless visitations been compelled to leave, through incapacity to destroy. Nairn and Elgin were plundered, and the chief houses set on fire. Cullen was totally laid in ashes, and 'sic lands as were left unburnt up before were now burnt up.'"—*Chambers' Biog. Dict.* This sentence is most unfair to Montrose, as, we regret to see, is

crossed the Spey, and disposing of his troops in various quarters, fixed his own at Birkenbog, until about the 21st of May, when he hastily collected his forces and progressed to Strathbogie, having just obtained tidings of another enemy in that neighbourhood. His last blow had been struck in the nick of time. On the very day of Aulderne, General Baillie had crossed the Cairn-a-mount on his way to join Hurry; and about the same time that Montrose encamped at Strathbogie, the covenanting General took up a position hard by in the wood of Cochlarochie, with a force superior to the Royal army, (especially in horse,) diminished as the latter was by the usual effects, of a victory, upon the Highlanders. Here Baillie was joined by the unfortunate Hurry, who came from Inverness with the remnant of his horse, about a hundred in number, and, crossing the Spey, "goes (says Spalding) through the Marquis of Montrose's watches, saying, he was the Lord Gordon's man, and fairly wan away bye them to Frendraucht, and therefrom passed to Cochlarochie, where Baillie was lying." * The Covenanters remained under arms, and in order of battle, from four o'clock in the afternoon, during the whole of the night, amused by some manœuvre of Montrose's, though his intention was to lead them many a weary mile before risking a battle, until

the whole biographical account from which it is quoted. It is an exaggerated and garbled paraphrase of Spalding's account of Montrose's proceedings immediately after the battle of Aulderne, leaving out, however, the cause expressly assigned by Spalding, namely, the murder of Gordon of Rynie, and that the object was to waste the lands of those concerned in that murder.

* I know not upon what authority Mr Chambers gives it thus: "Hurry, with a hundred horse, *fought his way through Montrose's very lines.*"

his army was recruited. When day dawned, the discovery was made that the Royal army had marched up the Spey to Balveny. Baillie, whom the Committee of Estates were at this time urging to bring Montrose to a decisive action at all hazards, followed him with that determination, and got sight of the Royal army at Glenlivet. But in spite of his utmost exertions he could not come within six miles of the Redshanks during that evening's march. By break of day, again Baillie attempted to surprise these mountain deer in their lair, and again the quarry was gone, nor could tidings of their route be obtained. He tracked them, however, by the lying of the grass and heather, and was thus enabled to conjecture that Montrose had made for the wood of Abernethy on the Spey. "Thither," says General Baillie, from whose defence the particulars are derived, "I marched, and found them in the entry of Badenoch, a very strait country, where, both for inaccessible rocks, woods, and the interposition of the river, it was impossible for us to come at them. Here we lay looking one upon another, (the enemy having their meal from Ruthven in Badenoch, and flesh from the country, whereof we saw none,) until for want of meal, (other victuals we had none,) the few horsemen * professing they had not eaten in forty-eight hours, I was necessitated to march northwards to Inverness." But the covenanting General does not venture to tell his exasperated Government the fact recorded by Wishart, namely, that Montrose, though he declined a battle, continued to beat up their quarters in the night-time, and to harass them by continual skirmishes, until upon

* Baillie had at least two hundred horse with him, according to his own statement.

some sudden panic they retreated in the greatest disorder, and left Montrose to his devices.

A new and untried commander had by this time taken the field in the south, with whom Montrose was not a little anxious to measure his strength. This was no less than his old friend Lindsay, (now Earl of Lindsay and Crawford,) with whom he had held the conversation on the subject of Argyle and the Dictatorship. This nobleman, it seems, had severely criticised the military campaigns of Argyle, and was thirsting to acquire renown by the conduct of an army for the Covenant. Accordingly, he now lay at the Castle of Newtyle, in Angus, with an army of raw levies, whom Montrose resolved to crush at a blow. No sooner had the latter shaken off Baillie, than again he issued from Badenoch, crossed the Grampians, and arrived, through the heads of Mar, by forced marches, on the banks of the river Airly, within seven miles of Lindsay, who knew nothing of his approach. Montrose was now again deprived of Aboyne, who had gone to Strathbogie, an invalid from his late exertions, or, as some surmised, secretly instructed by his jealous father not to follow the Royal Lieutenant be-south the Grampians. Huntly appears to have flattered himself that so long as the operations of the Gordons were confined to the north of those mountains, within the bounds of his own Lieutenancy, they might be considered as acting under his commission, rather than under that of his rival. Be this as it may, not only did Aboyne now absent himself, but, as Montrose was on the point of striking his blow at Lindsay, the whole of his north country forces suddenly quitted the Standard, and returned home by the same road they had come. Lord Gordon alone

remained firm in his present attachment, and, Dr Wishart declares, evinced the greatest concern at this unexpected and unaccountable treachery, and at the same time such resentment, that it was with difficulty Montrose could persuade him to relinquish the determination of punishing with death some of the deserters who belonged to his own following.

Instead of reaping the promised victory, Montrose had now to return northward with his scanty army, having dispatched before him Lord Gordon, and Nathaniel Gordon, to exert their influence and authority to bring back the deserters. Macdonald was also sent to recruit in the far Highlands, while Montrose himself, with the remnant of his army, took up a strong and safe position at the old Castle of Corgarff.

Meanwhile, the Earl of Crawford-Lindsay, having exchanged with Baillie a thousand of his raw levies for as many veterans, sought his laurels in a burning and predatory excursion through Athol, which country he entirely desolated. Baillie himself, after various military councils and consultations, (in the course of which Argyle refused the commission again pressed upon him for pursuing Montrose wherever he went,) was dispatched to the north, where he ravaged the domains of Huntly, up to the walls even of his stately Castle of the Bog, which was threatened with destruction. But this magnificent stronghold, the glory of the north, had been put into admirable condition for a siege, by one whom Spalding characterizes as "an old aged man," and whose position at this time affords a curious commentary on the progress of the Movement. It was John Gordon of Buckie, (whom elsewhere we were constrained to call a superannuated murderer,*) who

* See Introductory chapter, page 109.

now organized the defence of Huntly's noblest dwelling, and caused it to be stoutly kept against the Covenant, having a hundred watch-men nightly set, to guard it. Probably the old man regretted the tears he once shed to prevent the condemnation of Balmerino, and would now scarcely have expended one to save the whole covenanting clique from being hanged, and that without judge or jury.

It was this posture of affairs that again drew Montrose (to whom young Huntly had brought back Aboyne and the Gordon cavaliers) northward in search of Baillie, whom he found advantageously posted near the kirk of Keith, having his infantry disposed on a rising ground, and his cavalry in possession of a narrow pass that separated the hostile armies. After some skirmishing between the light horsemen, both parties remained under arms all night, in expectation of a battle. Early in the morning, Montrose sent a trumpet with his compliments to General Baillie, and that the King's Lieutenant would be happy to do him the honour of a battle on the plain. Baillie sent back for answer, that he never took his fighting instructions from the enemy. Montrose then broke up his own position, and, as if in full retreat, went south to the town of Alford on the Don, with the view of enticing his enemy further into the plain, a ruse that perfectly succeeded. The covenanting General, who had now learnt that Allaster Macdonald was absent with a strong party recruiting in the Highlands, followed the retreating Royalists with the determination to risk a battle. Intelligence of the approach of the Covenanters, within one mile of Alford, was brought to Montrose while in the act of examining the fords of the Don, at the head of a single troop

of horse. Leaving his horsemen to watch the river, Montrose galloped back alone to order his battle on Alford hill. His position there was greatly strengthened by a marsh, in his rear, intersected with ditches and full of pit-falls, while the ground rose in his front so as to screen part of his troops from the advancing foe. Disposing of his cavalry on each of the wings, he gave the command of the right to those inseparable friends, young Huntly and Nathaniel Gordon, while Aboyne and Sir William Rollock commanded on the left. The main body, arranged in files of six deep, he intrusted to Glengary, and Lord Napier's nephew, young Drummond of Balloch, assisted by Quarter-master George Graham. The reserve he concealed immediately behind the brow of the hill, and gave the command of it to the Master of Napier. Montrose himself and the Standard, attended by a few choice cavaliers, occupied the centre of the royal battle. Macdonald and young Inchbrakie, with a large proportion of their respective followers, were unfortunately absent. Nor had Airly and his party yet been able to rejoin the Standard.

No sooner were these dispositions made, than the troop that had been left to watch the fords returned on the spur, with the intelligence, that Baillie had crossed the Don, and was embattled in a position possessing similar advantages to the ground occupied by the Royalists. The armies thus confronted were nearly equal in the number of foot, about two thousand each. But Baillie's cavalry outnumbered Montrose's, being six hundred to two hundred and fifty. The latter, however, were for the most part gentlemen Cavaliers, while the covenanting horsemen had neither the breeding nor the experience to render them so formidable in battle. They were com-

manded, however, by the gallant Earl of Balcarres, who, it is alleged, hurried Baillie into this battle by the forwardness of his cavalry movements. Montrose, judging that the militia opposed to him would be un-nerved by the clang of his trumpets and the shouts of his men, hesitated no longer to give the *laissez aller*. On the instant, Lord Gordon, and his chivalrous friend, launched the right wing of the Royalists against the three squadrons of Balcarres's horse, who met the desperate shock of the Gordons with such determination that, for a time, the contending parties were mingled in a dense mass, and the result was doubtful. The first who made a lane for themselves with their swords, were Lord Gordon and Colonel Nathaniel. Immediately the latter called out to the swift musketeers who had followed the charge, —' throw down your muskets, and hamstring their horses with your swords, or sheath them in their bellies.' Balcarres's squadrons now fled in confusion, and while the Gordons pursued them with great slaughter from the field, Montrose brought his main battle into collision with the regiments of the Covenant, who stood up manfully, but in vain, against the murderous claymore. At this decisive moment, too, Montrose ordered up his nephew with the reserve, and no sooner had the latter made their appearance than the rebels gave way at every point, and the battle of Alford was gained.

Dearly was that victory purchased to Montrose. It appears that the Covenanters brought along with them all the cattle they had driven from the rich domains of Strathbogie and the Enzie. These were placed within some enclosures, and guarded by two companies of the covenanting infantry during the battle, until young Huntly, returning from his victorious charge, and un-

able to resist the appeal of his father's flocks and herds, called upon two troops of the Gordons to follow him, and with his usual impetuosity rushed to the rescue. The Covenanters received his charge with a well directed volley from the dikes of the sheep-folds, and the knightly plume, of the too forward heir of Huntly, fell in the dust to rise no more. In vain Montrose in person, alluring these successful musketeers from behind their entrenchments, cut them in pieces on the plain. He on whom alone of his gallant and loyal house Montrose could undoubtingly depend, the youth who was daily redeeming that house from the disheartened and disheartening jealousy of its absent chief, and from the wayward caprices of its younger scions, was never to lead the chivalry of the Gordons again. His fall paralyzed all further pursuit, and the mournful silence with which the melancholy news was at first received by the army, soon burst into a wild farewell of lamentations in the hour of victory. They even cursed that victory for the price it cost, and plunder was forgotten as the frantic Highlanders crowded round the body of the young chief, and lauded the beauty of his person in death. "Nothing," adds Dr Wishart, "could have supported the army under this immense deprivation, but the presence of Montrose, whose safety brought gladness and revived their drooping spirits. Yet Montrose himself could not restrain his grief, but mourned bitterly as if for his dearest and only friend. Grievously he complained that one who was the ornament of the Scottish nobility, and the boldest asserter of the royal authority in the north, his best and bosom friend, should be thus cut off in the flower of his age."

Thus died George Lord Gordon, in the twenty-eighth

year of his age, a youth in the highest estimation, and of great personal beauty. Montrose gave orders to embalm the body, and for some days his army was as it were a funeral procession. They first marched to Cluny, and from that to the neighbourhood of Aberdeen, where Montrose, leaving his whole army behind him, excepting only a hundred select musketeers, proceeded with the body of Lord Gordon, attended by Lord Aboyne and many gentlemen, to the Cathedral Church of old Aberdeen, where the young chief was deposited in the aisle of St John the Evangelist, (now called the Gordon's aisle,) by the side of his mother. Montrose then returned with a heavy heart to his leaguer, and Aboyne, now the heir of Huntly, went northward to Strathbogie, promising to return anon with a host of Gordons to the Standard.*

The Parliament met on the 8th of July at Stirling, in consequence of the plague raging in Edinburgh, and General Baillie having petitioned the House for his exoneration, and made his own explanation of the causes

* It is remarkable that very few of Montrose's soldiers fell at Alford, though the battle was desperately contested for more than an hour. The only persons of distinction among the royalists who died with Lord Gordon were Ogilvy of Milton, and Mowat of Balwholly, and an Irish Captain of the name of Dickson. George Douglas, (the Earl of Morton's brother,) who bore the Standard, Colonel Nathaniel Gordon, young Gordon of Gight, Hay of Dalgetty, and some others of the Gordons were wounded. Nearly the whole of Baillie's infantry, officers and men, were cut to pieces, he himself narrowly escaping with the Earl of Balcarres and the horse. In his defence before the covenanting Parliament, Baillie asserted that Montrose out-numbered him in horsemen, and was twice as strong in infantry. This was a defence absolutely necessary to make before that tribunal, who were not likely to contradict the assertion. It affords, therefore, no evidence that can be placed against the statement of Wishart and various contemporary historians of the Gordons. But it is of little consequence to the fame of Montrose, upon which side the numbers preponderated on that occasion.

of his failure, was received into favour, and although not again commissioned as commander in chief, was sent, almost by compulsion, to superintend the army, being in fact too good a General for them to lose. But while the responsibility was thus cast upon him, Argyle and other noblemen were joined in command, and, according to his own complaint, distracted and controlled his military councils. An act was passed, on the first day of the Parliament, for levying a new army against Montrose, which was to consist of from eight to ten thousand foot, and between four and five hundred horse. The rendezvous was appointed to be at Perth, on the 24th of the same month of July. There of that date the Parliament itself assembled, having been chased from Stirling by the progress of the pestilence, and, adds the Lord Lyon, little was done but arraying and mustering of men and horse, until Wednesday the 30th of July, when, at the conclusion of a fast, the covenanting nobles met in the Parliament House for the despatch of business.

Montrose, having heard of this rendezvous and Parliament, determined to be there and scatter them if he could. He had marched into Angus, where he was joined by young Graham of Inchbrakie, with the men of Athol, and by Macdonald, who had been most successful on his recruiting excursion in the Highlands. For with him there came the brave and loyal Maclean, and seven hundred of his clan, the Captain of Clanranald, and five hundred of his followers, and, adds Dr Wishart, "Glengary,—who deserves a singular commendation for his bravery and steady loyalty to the King, and his peculiar attachment to Montrose, whom he had never left from the time of the

expedition into Argyleshire,—by his uncles and other friends brought up five hundred more." To these were added a large body of the Macgregors and Macnabs, under their respective chieftains, with Macphersons from Badenoch, and Farquharsons from Braemar. Between four and five thousand of the stoutest hearts in the Highlands now supported the Standard, and Montrose felt that he had conquered covenanting Scotland, if but one other on whom he greatly depended kept his appointment. But he looked, and longed, and wrote in vain. The heir of Huntly had failed to bring the Gordons, and Montrose was only provided with a hundred horse.* The immediate consequence was, that he could not put his plan in execution, of at once descending into the low countries to attack the new levies of the Covenant, now encamped upon the south side

* Malcolm Laing says, "the army must be computed at six thousand with which Montrose emerged from behind the mountains and insulted Perth." To establish this assertion, our historian notes, on the authority of Spalding, that there were three thousand with him at Aulderne, and then he makes out the computation, on the authority of Wishart, by adding the number of the clans who now joined the Standard, and including "Aboyne and Airley, with twelve hundred foot, and three hundred horse." We repeat that no statement, which by any possibility can be received as approaching the truth of the relative forces in those wars, can diminish Montrose's fame a feather's weight, in the scale of his actions. But modern historians, who pronounce Wishart's account fabulous, while their own theories are fallacious, and erroneous in fact, ought to be corrected. Aboyne and Airly were not with Montrose, when he threatened Perth, otherwise Perth would have been taken then as it was before. Besides, Mr Laing takes credit for the full number vaguely stated by Spalding at 3000, and our historian, not only makes no allowance for the probability of Montrose's numbers at Aulderne being overstated, but he forgets the undoubted fact, that after every victory a great proportion of Montrose's Highlanders went home. Consequently when Mr Laing adds the numbers of the returning clans, as given by Wishart, to the 3000 stated by Spalding, he reckons no inconsiderable number twice over.

of the Earn. They were about six thousand strong, independently of the garrison in the neighbouring town of Perth, and of four hundred horse who protected the Parliament there assembled. Still in hopes of being joined by the cavaliers under Aboyne, Montrose crossed the Tay at Dunkeld, and, after pausing on the banks of the Almond, drew near to Perth, and encamped in the wood of Methven, some time during the last week of July.

Great was the consternation of Perth, and of the Parliament, and not very comfortable were the feelings of the protecting army, when this unwelcome visitor was announced. The panic was increased, when there appeared, on the following day, a cloud of cavalry advancing towards the town. Immediately the gates of Perth were made fast, and not a covenanting trooper showed his face. Montrose's stratagem was successful. Ever fertile in expedients to aid his defective resources, he had mounted a hundred musketeers upon the baggage horses, and arranged these along with his scanty cavalry, in such a manner as to give them the appearance of a formidable body. Having accomplished his object of confining the enemy within the walls, he turned aside with his cavaliers to Duplin, coolly surveyed the fords of the Earn, and the whole Strath, and for a time deceived the Covenanters into a belief that he was attended by a body of horse sufficient to keep the whole country in subjection.

We have already quoted, from the MS. Record of this very Parliament, certain relaxations of their close and dangerous confinement, granted to Lord Napier and his family, and to the young Lord Graham. As Lord Napier's letter, of remonstrance against this cruel

and tyrannical treatment, was written on the 3d of June, and the relaxations in question were only decreed at the end of July and the beginning of August, it was not that letter to Balmerino which had stirred the compassion of the covenanting Parliament. But it is curious to observe that their dates coincide with the very period when Montrose was threatening Perth, at the head of the most formidable army he had yet commanded, and when the panic was so great, that the Parliament had very nearly dispersed in flight. That which on an isolated perusal of their Record seems an act of lenient humanity towards State prisoners, was in fact the mean offspring of their fears. Presently, however, it was discovered that Montrose had scarcely a hundred effective horsemen, and then the covenanting Generals marched out against him with a force so vastly superior, that the former, effecting an admirable retreat, in which every attack upon his rear was repulsed, again took refuge in the hills for want of cavalry. No leniency was manifested now by the pious and patriotic Government, whose chroniclers have accused Montrose of cruelty. Lord Graham, notwithstanding the recent deliverance on his petition, was still left to the mercy of the pestilence in Edinburgh Castle, and Lord Napier and his family were only so far favoured, as to be committed to close prison in Linlithgow. Nor was this all. In the wood of Methven, some of the wives and other females, who accompanied the Highlanders and Irish in great numbers, had been left behind, and when that camp was occupied by the Covenanters, such of the unfortunate women as fell into their hands were butchered in cold blood. For this act, no better reason can be assigned than the following incident: Just as Montrose had touched

the defiles he sought, his pursuers charged his rear with three hundred of their best horsemen, picked for the occasion, who came on boldly with shouts, and very insulting language. Montrose, anticipating the manœuvre, had selected twenty clever Highlanders, of the readiest and reddest shanks of his biped cavalry, and who, moreover, could bring down a deer at some hundred paces, with a single bullet. These Dugald creatures went quietly forth against the insulting foe, and concealing their long guns, and creeping the whole way on their hands and knees through the brush-wood, till within shot of the troopers, took each of them a deliberate and separate aim, which caused some of the flower of the covenanting cavalry to bite the dust, and threw the rest into such confusion, that these twenty Redshanks, rushing down from their covert, put the whole to shameful rout, without the loss of a single man of themselves. But the unfortunate female stragglers paid the penalty,—a fact upon which covenanting and democratic historians are silent, probably because they consider Dr Wishart to be a "fabulous writer."

Montrose now pitched his camp at Dunkeld, in sight of the enemy, who made no attempt to dislodge him. Soon afterwards he was joined by those whom he so anxiously expected, namely, Aboyne and Colonel Nathaniel Gordon, who brought with them only two hundred horse, and a hundred and twenty musketeers mounted as dragoons upon the carriage horses. This was far below the expectations of Montrose, and indicated that the loyalty of the north was still paralyzed by the lurking jealousy of Huntly. But those who came were choice cavaliers, and invaluable at this moment to the Royal army. Not the less so, and most

welcome to the heart of Montrose, was the Earl of Airly, who, now restored to health, at the same time rejoined the Standard. He was attended by his son, Sir David Ogilvy, with a troop of eighty gentlemen of that gallant name. Of these, one of the most interesting was Alexander Ogilvy, the son and heir of Sir John Ogilvy of Innerquharity, a very ancient family, to whom this beautiful scion, though but seventeen years of age, already added the lustre of genius, and a distinguished name,—an eulogy which the Covenanters themselves have justified, by the death they decreed him on a scaffold.

Thus reinforced, Montrose lost no time in dislodging the covenanting Generals from the wood of Methven, and again driving them to the south of the Earn. They took up a strong position at Kilgraston, and Montrose, who found it impossible to force a battle, employed himself in endeavouring to disperse or intercept the levies which the Covenanters were expecting from among the fanatics of Fife. On his march to Kinross, an incident occurred which illustrates the great superiority, in spirit and daring, of the Cavaliers over the Covenanters. He had sent forward Sir William Rollock and Nathaniel Gordon with an advanced guard to reconnoitre the country. While this body of horse was separated into smaller parties, in order to gather intelligence in Fife, their two gallant leaders, having only ten horsemen along with them, suddenly stumbled upon a recruiting party of the enemy, consisting of two hundred men, chiefly cavalry. Finding retreat impossible, Nathaniel Gordon, who has been justly called "one of the bravest men and best soldiers in Europe,"*

* Sir Walter Scott.

and Rollock, noways inferior to the former, acted as became them. With their ten cavaliers they went forth like errant knights against the men of Fife, who fled before that daring onset, leaving some of their men dead and others in the hands of their victors.* After this exploit they rejoined Montrose, who determined to cross the Forth, that by fighting a battle in that quarter he might command the south of Scotland, and be ready to form a junction on the Borders with the King. Since his fatal overthrow at Naseby, Charles himself had now no other hope. On hisway to the Forth, Montrose passed through a country, of ominous names, belonging to Argyle, which was burnt and wasted by the Macleans in retaliation for the Dictator's ravages among their highland-homes, now amply avenged. For the magnificent pile of "Castle Campbell,"—the name which in a previous century had been bestowed upon it by act of Parliament, instead of its former designation "the Castle of Gloom,"—was consigned to the flames, and the picturesque; and so hotly were the banks of the Gryfe,

* Malcolm Laing, in order to prove his assertion that Dr Wishart is a fabulous writer, says, in reference to the above, and the former feat of the twenty Highlanders; "In the present expedition he tells of twenty Highlanders who routed three hundred, of twelve horsemen who defeated two hundred of the Covenanters' horse, killing some and making prisoners of others." This is not fairly put. Our historian might have known that the minute detail of the manner in which the Highland marksmen set to work is truly characteristic, and renders the story most probable; nor, when the conduct of the Fife levies at Tippermuir is remembered, does it appear at all unlikely that such men as Gordon and Rollock, when brought to bay, should with ten cavaliers rout two hundred of those levies. Malcolm Laing keeps all these circumstances out of view, as if he meant to entrap the incredulity of his readers. But nothing is more unlikely, or would have been more injudicious, than that Montrose's apologist, writing by his side, and during the lifetime of thousands to detect mistatements, would have published ridiculous falsehoods of the kind, to illustrate his hero.

and the parish of Dollar, now visited in honour of Argyle, as to justify the purer orthography,—*dolour*, and *grief*. That such ravages were independent of Montrose, and, even had they been less justified, were not to be prevented by him, is indicated by an interesting circumstance that occurred at this period. The Royalists had passed, through these possessions of Argyle, into the lordship and town of Alloa, belonging to the Earl of Mar. This nobleman and his son Lord Erskine, were now decidedly, though not actively, loyal, and were in close alliance of blood and affection with Lord Napier. Yet the Irish under Macdonald barbarously plundered his town and domains, while Mar with all his family were residing in his castle of Alloa, and Montrose was encamped hard by, in the wood of Tillibody. And the very next day the Earl invited Montrose, his own son-in-law the Master of Napier, the Earl of Airly, and the most distinguished of the staff of the King's Lieutenant, to dine with him in the castle. "So," adds Bishop Guthrie, "Montrose appointed Macdonald to march westward with the foot army, and bringing his horse for a guard, himself, and the Earl of Airly, and many more, were liberally feasted in the castle of Alloa, after which, having notice of the enemy's advancing towards them, they made the greater haste to overtake their foot,* and being met, and considering the town of Stirling was consumed by the pestilence, resolved to pass by it, and so crossed both the Teith and the Forth, two miles to the north-

* According to the deliverance on their petitions, the Mistress of Napier and the fair Lilias, (whom considering the signification of the term in those days, we dare not call *Miss* Napier,) were then living with the Earl of Mar. But from Wishart's account, it appears, that they had all been sent to prison in Linlithgow.

ward of it, and from thence marched on to Kilsyth, where they found the ground so advantageous for them, as made them resolve to halt there, until their enemies should come that length, which very shortly fell."

In the meanwhile, the army of the Covenant, which had been reinforced by three regiments from Fife, and another composed of Argyle's Highlanders, continued to follow the footsteps of Montrose. Argyle himself was in reality the commander of that army, and as he passed by Stirling, he, too, left his mark. He caused the house of Menstrie, belonging to the Earl of Stirling, and the house of Aithry, the property of Graham of Braco, to be laid in ashes, and at the same time sent an insolent notification to the Earl of Mar, that when they returned from destroying Montrose, he might expect the same fate to his castle of Alloa, for having feasted that excommunicated traitor.* And so saying, the Dictator marched on to the bridge of Denny, and from that to a place called the Holland-bush, where they encamped, some two miles and a half from Kilsyth, on the 14th of August 1645. Such were the preliminaries to the bloodiest, the most effective, and the last of Montrose's victories.

According to Bishop Guthrie, the Covenanters were seven thousand strong. Dr Wishart says six thousand foot, and eight hundred horse, and that Montrose's army consisted of four thousand four hundred foot, and five hundred horse, which, adds an old historian of the family of Gordon, "I take to be a pretty exact account of the number of that army." Unquestionably Mon-

* General Baillie in his defence, points to Argyle's control, when he says,—"while I was present, others did sometimes undertake the command of the army; without either my order or knowledge, fire was raised, and that destroyed which might have been a recompense to some good deserver, for which I would not be answerable to the public."

trose was greatly outnumbered, or Argyle would not have proposed to give him battle. The joint Commanders for the Covenant were Argyle, Tullibardine, Lindsay, Balcarres, Burleigh, Elcho, and General Baillie, every one of whom Montrose had signally beaten, with the exception of Lindsay, whom he had only frightened. But it seemed as if they remembered the fable of the sticks, and having been severally snapt in detail, determined to prove their strength in a bundle. A vivid idea of that battle is presented to us by the principal actors on both sides, namely, in Baillie's defence, (preserved amongst his namesake's papers,) and in Wishart's Latin history, which may be considered the account furnished by Montrose himself. We shall first turn to the scene afforded by the covenanting General.

About the peep of dawn, on the morning of the 15th, Argyle, Burleigh, and some others, proceeded to the General's tent, when the following dialogue occurred betwixt the latter and Gillespic Gruamach.

ARGYLE.—Whereabouts are the Rebels?

BAILLIE.—At Kilsyth.

ARGYLE.—Might we not advance nearer them?

BAILLIE.—We are near enough as it is, if we do not intend to fight, and your Lordship knows well how rough and uneasy a way lies betwixt them and us.

ARGYLE.—We need not keep the highway,—we may march upon them in a direct line.

BAILLIE.—Then let the Earl of Crawford (Lindsay) and the rest of the Committee, be called in from the next tent.

The result of the conference was, that Baillie marched the regiments through the corns and over the braes, till they were induced to halt from the rising ground

in front opposing a barrier, and at the same time affording a protection. Baillie was then urged to take up his position in a particular field. To this he replied: —'If the Rebels engage us there, I conceive they will have the advantage,—if we beat them to the hills, that will be little advantage to us—to lose the day will be to lose the kingdom.' The General then took the votes, when Balcarres alone sided with him, Argyle and the rest agreeing that they should draw on to the hill in front. Accordingly the musketeers were sent to the hill, and Major Halden was instructed to guide them to some enclosures which Baillie pointed out. That General followed, with Balcarres and the cavalry, whom he ordered to keep close to the musketeers of the van. The various regiments in the rear were directed to march upon the hill in such order as the difficult nature of the ground would admit of. Lindsay, Burleigh, and Baillie himself, then galloped over the brae, in order to take a view of the ground and the posture of the enemy.

Beneath them, at some distance, lay extended a meadow, upon which Montrose had drawn up his army in battle array,—and a very beautiful sight it must have been, those gallant clans, and high-blooded cavaliers, clustering round the only Standard of Charles the First that was worthy of the King.* The meadow and the hill were united by a glen, whose rugged sides were clothed with underwood; and some enclosures, and cottages, scattered about the hill and the head of the glen, suggested the points where the struggle was likely to commence. Even as the two nobles and their attendant General took their hasty glance at this exciting pros-

* "One charge more," said the King himself to his squadrons broken by the charge of Cromwell at Naseby, "and we recover the day." But the voice of the heroic Charles tried to rally them in vain.

pect, they saw a large body of the Highlanders, apparently disbanded and in confusion, threading and stealing their way, through the bushes and up the glen, like a herd of mountain cats. Returning on the spur, these three brought the intelligence to the Marquis of Argyle, who was found, of course on the safest side of the hill, with some of the other nobles. Baillie at the same time perceived Major Halden leading some musketeers, without orders from him, over a field to a house near the glen, and having tried in vain to recal them from where he saw that the enemy were falling up in considerable strength, he told Argyle and those with him to retire, and every officer to go to his place, while the General himself, and Balcarres galloped back to the regiments at the bottom of their side of the hill.

'What am I to do now?' said Lord Balcarres, who was brave enough to have been second in command to Montrōse. 'Draw up your regiment on the right of Lauderdale's,' replied Baillie, 'let both regiments face to the right, and march to the foot of the hill,—let Hume's regiment follow, halt when they halt, and keep distance and front with them.'—'And what shall I do with my regiment?' said another officer, who proved to be not Argyle, but his Major. 'Draw up on the left of Hume, in the same order,' said Baillie, and galloped on. But as he looked back over his shoulder at these dispositions, he saw Hume's regiment going off at a trot right west to the enclosures upon which the enemy were advancing. So he returned as fast as he could ride, and meeting the Adjutant on the way, ordered Lindsay's regiment to take up the position on the left of Lauderdale's, and the Fife regiments to remain in reserve. He then rode on after Hume; but that regiment, ere the General could reach them, had, along with Argyle's regiment, (*minus* the Marquis,) and

two others, got into an enclosure near the advancing enemy, who were already at the next dike. The Covenanters had commenced a distant and disorderly fire, which Baillie in vain exerted himself to restrain. What his own scientific plan of winning the battle might have been, amid all these untoward events, is not very manifest, and if he understood it himself, it is clear that nobody else did. The result is given by him more intelligibly, and is highly characteristic of his loyal opponents. "The Rebels," he is pleased to say, "leapt over the dike, and with *down heads* fell on and broke these regiments." He adds, that all the officers present behaved well, and "I saw none careful to save themselves *before* the routing of the regiments." Baillie then spurred his horse to the brow of the hill, where he found Major-General Holbourn. This officer directed his attention to a squadron of the cavaliers just gone by, who, after overthrowing the horse under Lieutenant-Colonel Murray, had routed the regiment of Lindsay, and others in that quarter. Generals Baillie and Holbourn galloped off together, to bring up the reserve. The reserve was already routed, and the two Generals, having done what they could to rally some of the fugitives, rode off to Stirling, where they found most of the noble commanders already safely lodged within the defences of that town and castle. On the subject of Argyle's demeanour, during the fight and flight, General Baillie is silent.

We now turn to the view afforded by Dr Wishart of Montrose's side of the battle.

When Montrose first pitched his tent in the fields about Kilsyth, he was not certain whether to fight or to continue his march. But having learnt that Hamilton's brother, Lanerick, had raised a large force in Clydesdale for the Covenant, and that he was within

fifteen miles of Kilsyth, while Cassilis, Eglinton, Glencairn, and other covenanting noblemen were also raising forces in the west country, he determined to discuss Baillie without delay. The unusually forward motions and fighting attitude which the Covenanters displayed on the morning of the 15th, indicated a consciousness of their numerical superiority, sufficient to make them seek a battle. ‘ So much the better,’ exclaimed Montrose, ‘ it is the very thing I want, and as for their numbers, we have the best ground, which is more than half the battle.’ He then busied himself in the most judicious preparations for the approaching fight, and sent out parties to take possession of such advantages as the ground afforded. Betwixt and the enemy were a few scattered cottages and rustic gardens, (probably those referred to in the narrative of General Baillie,) and the first skirmishing that occurred was in consequence of an attempt made by the Covenanters to dislodge a party of the Royalists from some of these strongholds. The gallantry with which the assailants were beaten back, excited the rest of Montrose's Highlanders to such a degree, that nearly a thousand of them, without waiting for orders, ran up the hill, as if with the intention of charging the whole of the enemy. Montrose himself, displeased with the want of discipline, and alarmed at the rashness, watched the event with anxiety, and observed a large body of infantry and several troops of horse drawing forward, though somewhat tardily, to meet the desultory attack of the Redshanks. Upon which, turning to the Earl of Airly, he told him, that if these rash Highlanders were not immediately supported, they would be cut in pieces by the enemy's cavalry; and he added,—‘ the eyes and wishes of the whole army are upon you, my Lord Airly, as the person most capable,

by your authority, discretion, and bravery, to save these men, and redeem the day from their want of discipline.' Now Lord Airly was upwards of fourscore years, and, moreover, had just recovered from a fever. But he was an Ogilvy, and young Innerquharity himself could not have responded to the appeal with more gallant alacrity than did this brave old Earl. Surrounded by the gentlemen of his own name, and at the head of a troop commanded by John Ogilvy of Baldavie, an excellent officer, who had been a Colonel in the Swedish service, Airly charged the covenanting horse with irresistible effect, and driving them back upon the infantry they meant to support, created a confusion in the ranks of the enemy that was decisive of the day. The battle then resolved into a general rush of the Royalists upon the wavering Rebels, who gave way at every point, and in the chase of fourteen miles which ensued, it is said that not less than from five to six thousand Covenanters paid the forfeit of their lives for their rebellion, while in the army of Montrose not a hundred were put *hors de combat.*

The leading features of the battle, in General Baillie's narrative, and in what may be considered Montrose's, can be very nearly identified, and are remarkably similar, considering how different the same battle is apt to appear when observed from various points of view. It is added by Dr Wishart, that while most of the covenanting noblemen saved themselves, by a timely flight, in the Castle of Stirling, Argyle and a few with him took the water at the Frith of Forth, and sought safety in some vessels lying at anchor in the roads. Nor did the Dictator feel himself secure, until he had made them weigh anchor, and put out to sea.

One additional fact, recorded by Montrose's chaplain,

is worthy of notice, not only as characteristic in itself, but from the extraordinary use that has been made of it by the modern calumniators of Montrose. Ere they joined battle, Montrose, says Dr Wishart, "commanded his men, cavalry and infantry, to cast aside their more troublesome garments, and stripping themselves to the waist of all clothing but the under vesture, thus, giving the onset in their shirts, to rush upon the enemy. He was obeyed with right good will, and after this fashion they stood ready and disencumbered, and determined to conquer or die."* This passage explains itself, nor was the instruction, to cast away the plaids and other fatiguing garments, an extraordinary one, considering that it was in the middle of August these mountaineers were about to charge six thousand of their enemies up hill, and to chase them as far as they could. The idea of an onset made in such guise will appear still less outre to those who know how important and warlike a part of the costume was the Highland shirt, or *sark*. "The common people of the Highland Scots," says John Major, "rush into battle, having their body clothed with a linen garment, manifoldly sewed, and painted or daubed with pitch, with a covering of deer-skin." It is more than probable, that Montrose's knowledge of the habits and inclinations of his mountain chivalry, no less than the prospect of a hot day, had suggested the order. The anecdote, however, has been variously noticed to our hero's disadvantage; but nowhere in so unwarrantable a paraphrase as the following, which we quote from the recent popular biographies of Mr Chambers.

* "*Suis insuper omnibus, equiti juxta ac pediti imperat, ut positis molestioribus vestibus, et solis indusiis superne amicti, et in albis emicantes, hostibus insultarent. Quod cum illi alacres lætique fecissent, expediti paratique stabant, certi aut vincere aut mori.*"

"A company of cuirassiers drew from Montrose a remark, that the cowardly rascals durst not face them till they were cased in iron. To shew our contempt of them, let us fight them in our shirts. With that he threw off his coat and waistcoat, tucked up the sleeves of his shirt like a butcher going to kill cattle, at the same time drawing his sword with ferocious resolution. The proposal was received with applause, the cavalry threw off their upper garments, and tucked up their sleeves;* the foot *stripped themselves naked even to the feet*, and in this state were ready to rush upon their opponents before they could take up the places assigned them. The *consequence was*, the battle was a mere massacre—a race of fourteen miles, in which space six thousand men were cut down and slain."

The picture of Montrose throwing off his coat and waistcoat, tucking up the sleeves of his shirt like a butcher, and, "at the same time," drawing his sword with ferocious resolution, is exquisite, but we doubt its authenticity. Nor can we discover the authority for saying, that, upon the occasion in question, our hero's four thousand four hundred infantry fought stark naked, "even to the feet," a most questionable fact, seeing that they pursued, with deadly effect, for fourteen miles, through growing corns, up rugged glens, and by paths which General Baillie states to have been "rough and uneasy to march in." But supposing the picture true, and if there be accuracy in the reasoning that "a mere massacre"—by which must be understood the death of all the iron-clad fugitives, without the loss of a single

* In a free or rather false translation of the incident from Wishart, Monteith, in his French history, has the expressions, "retroussant chacun sa chemise sur ses bras." This is the only authority I can find for all this tucking up of sleeves.

naked pursuer—was the natural consequence of this extraordinary tactic, then we maintain not only that Montrose was perfectly justified, but that, even in our own more civilized times, it is absolutely the duty of every General to insure the safety of his troops, at the expence of the enemy, by fighting his battles *in puris naturalibus*.*

* Carte, in his History of England, puts a fanciful speech into the mouth of Montrose before the battle of Kilsyth, and indeed the account there given of his demeanour upon the occasion in question, though highly complimentary to our hero, is not warranted by the details given by Wishart and Guthrie, the two authorities whom Carte quotes. In Chambers's Biography of Montrose, a yet more unwarrantable paraphrase of Carte is given, and the account rendered derogatory and insulting to Montrose.

## CHAPTER XVI.

RESULTS OF THE BATTLE OF KILSYTH—MONTROSE SURPRISED AT PHILIPHAUGH.

MONTROSE had now conquered the Covenanters in Scotland. He had swept the Country, from north to south, of the armies of that rebel faction which had so long tyrannized over the persons, and consciences, of the people of Scotland. The Presbyterial reign of terror there was for the time paralyzed, and Argyle himself, who, behind the specious mask of "Religion and Liberties," had been seeking his own aggrandizement to the subversion of both, was no longer Dictator. The immediate effect of this victory affords a curious commentary on the Covenant. "The whole Country," says Dr Wishart, "now resounded Montrose's praise. His unparalleled magnanimity and bravery, his happiness in devising his plans of operation, and his rapidity in the execution of them, his unshaken resolution and intrepidity, even in the greatest dangers, and his patience under the severest deprivations and fatigues, his faithfulness, and strict observance of his promises to such as submitted, and his clemency towards his prisoners, in short, that heroic virtue, which displayed itself in all his actions, was extolled to the skies, and filled the mouths of all ranks of men, and several poems and panegyrics were wrote upon this occasion to his honour. Most of these encomiums were sincere and well intended. But some of them, it must be confessed, proceeded

from mere craft and dissimulation. So unsteady is the tide of human affairs, so fleeting and precarious the affections of the mob, that Argyle, Balmerino, Lindsay, Loudon, and the other ringleaders of the faction, the very *coryphæi* of the Covenant, who so lately had been flattered and idolized, were now publicly exclaimed against as the authors of all the evil troubles of the times."

Immediately after the battle of Kilsyth, Montrose marched into Clydesdale to meet the levies of the Earl of Lanerick. But Lanerick had already fled, and his levies were dispersed. The victor then marched to Glasgow, which he entered amid the acclamations of the inhabitants, having been previously invited by a deputation to honour their city with his presence. In virtue of his commission as the King's Lieutenant, Montrose instituted a severe scrutiny into the conduct of the most notorious criminals, and, for example's sake, ordered some of them to be executed. But even his enemies admit, that in this hour of uncontrolled command his conduct was studiously lenient. To relieve them of the burden of the army, he marched out on the second day, and encamped six miles off at Bothwell, indulging the city with the privilege of a guard of their own inhabitants, to protect it from the stragglers of his army. At Bothwell, complimentary and deprecating addresses poured in from all quarters of Scotland, and were presented to him by special Commissioners. Moreover, there came in person to him, to declare their loyalty, and offer their services, the Marquis of Douglas, the Earls of Linlithgow, Annandale, and Hartfell, the Lords Erskine, Seton, Drummond, Fleming, Maderty, Carnegie, and Johnston, Charteris of Amisfield, Towers

of Inverleith, Stewart of Rosyth, and various others, some of whom now made protestations of their loyalty because their fears were removed, and others because fear had seized them. Thus Montrose, now publicly acknowledged as the King's representative in Scotland, suddenly found himself the centre of a court.

Nor was this all. Cassilis, Eglinton, and Glencairn were understood to be collecting forces in the western shires, and the covenanting towns of Ayr and Irvine. To repress these levies Montrose dispatched Macdonald, and young Drummond of Balloch, with a strong party, who encountered not the slightest opposition. Glencairn and Cassilis fled to Ireland, and Argyle, Lanerick, and Lindsay to Berwick. The shires and towns of Renfrew and Ayr had previously sent deputations deprecating the wrath of the Royal Lieutenant, and imputing to the agitation of their clergymen all their sins of rebellion. Montrose accepted their submission, took their oaths of allegiance, and dismissed them as friends. But he instructed Macdonald and Drummond to exact submission from all, in that seditious quarter, who had not sent it in, and, strange to say, it seemed to these officers as if they were progressing through the most loyal district in Scotland. And nowhere, says Bishop Guthrie, did Montrose's delegates receive so hearty a welcome as at Loudon Castle. The Chancellor of course was not at home, but his Lady, the Baroness, received them with open arms, gave them a sumptuous entertainment, and sent her major-domo, John Halden, back with them to Montrose, to present her humble service to the King's Lieutenant.

While Lord Napier's nephew was thus employed in the west, his son, the Master, was sent to the south, upon a yet more important and interesting mission. It was

to take possession of the Capital. The following interesting document may be said to represent the very apex of Montrose's hitherto unchecked career of conquest.

"*Orders for the Master of Napier and Colonel Nathaniel Gordon.*"

"James Marquis of Montrose, his Majesty's Lieutenant General of the Kingdom of Scotland.

"These be to will and command you, presently after sight hereof, to take along with you five hundred horsemen and five hundred dragoons, and repair to the town of Linlithgow, and cause publish a declaration at the market-cross thereof, and copies of the same to be spread and divulged in the country; as also you shall cause publish this his Majesty's indiction of a Parliament at the said market-cross, after the ordinary and accustomed manner, and leave copies of both upon the said market-cross. Likewise you shall direct along a trumpet or drum, with a commission to the magistrates of the burgh of Edinburgh, and draw yourselves about the said town of Linlithgow, or betwixt that and Edinburgh, keeping yourselves free of all places suspected to be spoiled with the infection, as you will answer on the contrary at your highest peril. And having executed these former orders, you shall return with all possible diligence to the army, where it shall happen the same to be for the time.

"Given at our Leaguer at Bothwell, the twentieth day of August 1645.

"MONTROSE."*

* From the original, in the Napier charter-chest, written by the Master of Napier, and signed by Montrose.

This was a happy mission for young Napier. From the prison of Linlithgow he released his wife, to whom he was devotedly attached, his venerable father, his two sisters, and his brother-in-law, Sir George Stirling.* The youth who had escaped from Holyrood without their knowledge, and for whose truant escape they had been fined and confined, returned, after the lapse of three months, at the head of a thousand Cavaliers, and delegated with the authority of a Conqueror and a King. But one most interesting prisoner is not in the list of those enumerated by Dr Wishart, namely, Montrose's only son. Had the young Lord Graham been suffered to depart to his education under Lord Dalhousie, in terms of the deliverance on his petition, while all the others remained in confinement? The question is curiously answered in that dedication to him, of the scarce work already quoted. "The soul of the Great Montrose," says Saint Serf, "lives eminently in his son, which began early to show its vigor, when your Lord-

* These had been sent there from Edinburgh Castle, and are all specially enumerated by Dr Wishart, as having been released by the Master of Napier from the prison of Linlithgow upon that occasion. It was impossible he could be mistaken as to the facts, for he was chaplain to Lord Napier, as well as to Montrose, and was domesticated abroad with Montrose, young Lord Napier, and Lilias Napier, when he was writing his history. If it be alleged that he falsified the facts, in order to make a story against the Covenanters, and that the Record of the release of these parties, dated some weeks before, is sufficient evidence that it occurred, the reply is, that in the same Record appears the release of young Lord Graham, and yet the quotation from Saint Serf proves that Lord Graham was still confined in the Castle of Edinburgh, after the battle of Kilsyth. There can be little doubt, therefore, that the apparently humane deliverance on those petitions was an act of fear, and not fulfilled by a Government in which, from the first to the last hour of the Covenant, good faith and honest dealing were no ingredients. Lord Napier, in his letter to Balmerino, indicates pretty plainly his sense of the dishonesty of that Government, when he requires "your Lordship's assurance in honour, under your hand."

ship, then not full twelve years old, was close prisoner, after the battle of Kilsyth, in Edinburgh Castle, from whence you nobly refused to be exchanged, lest you cost your great father the benefit of a prisoner, wherein he gladly met your resolution, both so conspiring to this glorious action that neither outdid the other, though all the world besides." *

Napier and Nathaniel Gordon, having executed their commission at Linlithgow,† proceeded to Edinburgh, and, in terms of their instructions, halting within four miles of the town, they sent a trumpet to summon it in name of the King. The consternation of the civic authorities was unbounded. Expecting nothing less than destruction to the town, from the Conqueror whose own person and name had suffered so many indignities there, and whose dearest friends were at the moment in

* The notice of this interesting fact, which I do not find recorded any where else, corrects a previous statement of the second Marquis of Montrose's age, derived from Spalding. — See before, p. 175, and Vol. i. p. 114. It also corrects the statement of his age in the peerages. At first it may appear remarkable that Montrose's son was not released upon this triumphant occasion, as Lords Crawford and Ogilvy were released. But it must be remembered that the latter had been confined in the tolbooth as delinquents, of which they complained, and said they were prisoners of war. They owed their liberty to it now, however, for the magistrates were too happy to release them. But Lord Graham was confined as a prisoner of war, and in the Castle, of which Montrose had not obtained possession.

† In the MS. autobiography of Sir Robert Sibbald in the Auchinleck Library mentioned by Boswell in his Life of Johnson, (Croker's edit. Vol. iv. p. 82.) Sir Robert records of himself, that, "in the year 1645, the time of the plague, I stayed at Linlithgow, at James Crawfurd, our cousin's house, till some were infected in the town, at which time my parents removed me with them to the Kipps, till the infection was over. As I went there with my nurse, we met a troop of Montrose's men, who passed us without doing us any harm."—*Analecta Scotica.* Napier and Nathaniel Gordon were not likely to make war upon women and children, which is more than can be said for the Covenanters.

their tolbooth, while his only son was confined in the Castle, they cast themselves in an agony of terror upon the merciful intercession of those very prisoners. At a meeting of the town-council, it was determined to send their humblest submission by delegates to Montrose, and they released from the tolbooth Ludovick Earl of Crawford, and the Lord Ogilvy, entreating them to become intercessors for the town. Accordingly these noblemen accompanied the delegates, and thus the Master of Napier had not only the pleasure of releasing his own friends and relatives, but of bringing to his uncle, a few days after he had set out on his mission, the four friends and advisers whom of all others Montrose loved, namely, Napier, Ogilvy, Crawford, and Sir George Stirling of Keir. The delegates made a free and unconditional surrender of the town of Edinburgh, confessed guilt, deprecated vengeance, implored pardon, and promised every thing in a manner worthy of the Covenant. They would send, they said, instant levies to recruit the Royal army, but that their miserable town was nearly depopulated by the plague. They were ready, however, to contribute money for that purpose. As for the Loyalists confined in the tolbooth, they would be instantly set free, and the town would exert its utmost influence to have the Castle delivered up, and occupied in the name of the King. They had been drawn, they added, into the crime of rebellion by the craft, power, and example of a few seditious leaders, but they willingly pledged themselves, never again to hold communion with rebels, and took with alacrity and pleasure the proffered oath of allegiance. Montrose (says Dr Wishart) gave them reason to hope for the Royal forgiveness, and exacted nothing from them but

these promises. Saint Serf, in the dedication to Montrose's son, has preserved, along with his panegyric, some particulars, not afforded elsewhere. "That immortal hero," he says, "your glorious father, being to all who knew him one of the most munificent, as well as magnificent personages in the world, which too well appeared when cities, after victories, tendered large sums to be freed from the present incumberance of his army. He satisfied their desires, but refused their moneys, still saying, that he could not have their hearts and their purses—his work was to vindicate his Master's rights, and restore them to their wonted happiness."* The only one of all these pledges fulfilled by the magistrates of Edinburgh, was the immediate release of the prisoners in the tolbooth, who, on the return of the delegates, obtained their liberty, and joined Montrose in his camp. These were Lord Reay, young Irving of Drum, (who had been sent back to his loathsome confinement) Ogilvy of Powry, and Dr Wishart.† Two other conspicuous individuals also at this crisis made a voluntary offer of their services and allegiance, namely, the Justice-Clerk, Sir John Hamilton of Orbistoun, a distinguished member of the Committee of Estates, and Archibald Primrose of Carrington, no less distinguished as Clerk of Council and of the Estates. Montrose considered them most important acquisitions, as he expected that the influence of Sir John would bring over Lanerick himself to the cause of the King. Lord Napier judged

* This probably refers to the occasion of the submission of Edinburgh after the battle of Kilsyth.

† Macdonald's two brothers, and his father, old Coll, and Montrose's natural brother, Henry Graham, had been exchanged before the battle of Kilsyth for some of Argyle's friends.

otherwise, and augured no good from their presence. He even counselled Montrose to beware they did not breed dissension in his camp, and expressed his belief that for such a purpose they had been sent by the Hamilton faction.

While Montrose was still at Bothwell, the climax of his brief though brilliant triumph occurred in the arrival of Sir Robert Spotiswood, as Secretary of State for Scotland, bringing to him a new and more ample commission. The Secretary had come from Oxford, through Wales, and passed over to the Isle of Man, from whence he landed in Lochaber, came down to Athol, and was conducted by the Athol-men to Montrose. He brought with him a commission from the King, dated 25th June 1645, appointing Montrose to be Captain-General and Lieutenant-Governor of Scotland, with power to summon Parliaments, in short, all the privileges previously held by Prince Maurice. This commission was in due form presented, by the Secretary of State, under the Royal Standard, and was then handed by Montrose to Archibald Primrose, as Clerk of Council, to be proclaimed to the army. This ceremony took place at a grand review of his victorious troops on the day before his fatal march to the Borders. He addressed his soldiers in a short and affecting speech, mindful of their courage and their loyalty, and expressive of the warmth of his feelings towards his gallant followers. Then directing his praises in particular to Allaster Macdonald, in presence of the whole army he conferred upon him the honour of knighthood, by virtue of the powers of this new commission.

The result of all these arrangements was different from what, probably, had been expected. As Montrose

now came in place of Prince Maurice himself, it was natural to suppose that the awkward competition, of his former subordinate commission, with that granted to Huntly be-north the Grampians, would be removed, and, consequently, all reasonable cause of jealousy betwixt them. The superior rank now bestowed upon our hero was his due by a title which no loyalist could pretend to rival, least of all Huntly. The services of Huntly's family in the recent transactions had been most important, and their loss, in the death of Lord Gordon, irreparable. But it was the spirit, temper, and perseverance of Montrose alone, that had attracted the Gordons to the Standard, and thereby saved the honour and added to the glory of their house. But neither were those services overlooked; for, upon the death of Lord Gordon, Aboyne was created an Earl. Macdonald also had reason to be now more gratefully attached to the Standard, and to Montrose. His father, and his two brothers, were redeemed from their captivity and the prospect of an ignominious death, and he himself honoured with knighthood, before all his comrades, although his disobedience and want of judgment had very nearly lost the battle of Aulderne. And yet, as if Montrose's elevation had only added fresh fuel to the jealousy of the house of Huntly, Aboyne secretly influenced by his father, and even worked upon by the poisonous art of Argyle, withdrew from Montrose, carrying with him all the Gordons, (excepting Colonel Nathaniel Gordon), at the most critical period. Macdonald, on the other hand, having now acquired a great name in arms, and being dignified with the most honourable of knighthoods, felt that his importance in the Highlands was increased tenfold. When he first landed from

Ireland, the proud Claymores refused to follow him as a chief, and, but for the sudden appearance of Montrose, he and his Irish adventurers must have lived and died as banditti. But now so great a hero was he amongst them, that when the Highlanders as usual applied for the leave they meant to take, of returning to their homes to deposit their spoil, and chaunt their victories, Macdonald, at his own earnest desire, and with the concurrence of the chiefs, was appointed their captain-general, and pledged himself to bring them back to the Standard, when their services should be required. Never were their services more requisite than at that very moment. But Montrose had no power over his unpaid soldiery, and finding it in vain to attempt to detain them, permitted their departure with a grace which he hoped would encourage them to return. It was, however, the object of the Macdonalds to wage a particular war on their own account in the country of Argyle. Old Coll Keitach was free again with all his sons, and Sir Allaster was now captain of the clans under Montrose, and, moreover, a knight of such renown in the Highlands, that to him their traditions give the glory of Montrose's wars. Dr Wishart declares, that when Macdonald, in a formal oration, returned thanks to the Lord Governor for his great condescension, and pledged himself for their speedy return, he had no intention of ever returning. The event justifies the imputation. From that moment, when Macdonald marched northward with the flower of the clans, and a body guard for himself of a hundred and twenty picked Irish, Montrose and he never met again.

This desertion (for however plausible the pretexts, it was nothing else,) of the royal cause by the Gordons

and the Highlanders, occurred at the very time when the blow was most likely to prove fatal. While Montrose occupied the leaguer at Bothwell, his object was to rouse into effective activity the ever timid, and now somewhat damaged loyalty of those Border Earls, Home, Roxburgh, and Traquair. Montrose had already immortalized the claymore, and rendered every mountain and glen of the North historic ground. How complete would have been his triumph, had he succeeded in reviving the ancient spirit and daring of the Prickers of the south, and turned that, too, to the advantage of his Sovereign. With this hope he sent the Marquis of Douglas, and Lord Ogilvy, into Annandale and Nithisdale, to co-operate with the Earls of Hartfell and Annandale, in raising a body of horse, wherewith to march into the districts of Home, Roxburgh, and Traquair, and induce or compel those noblemen to bring aid to the Standard. The name of Douglas was once a talisman on the Borders. But the days of Border chivalry were gone, and, disgusting fact, the best and bravest of the Border race, the Scots, the bold Buccleuch, were covenanting, and devoted to Argyle. Douglas did his utmost to collect the requisite levies, and drew around him no inconsiderable number of ploughmen and shepherds. But, as cavalry, they were no more to be trusted than was the infantry composed of the puffy burghers of Perth. Douglas wrote to Montrose, entreating him to come forthwith to the Borders, and by the example of his veterans, and the magic of his own presence, to encourage and confirm these awkward and uncertain recruits. But the sincerity of Roxburgh, Home, and even Traquair, who all made offers of active service under the Governor of

Scotland, was so doubtful, that the wisest of his friends cautioned him against rashly trusting to their meeting him with their promised forces. Argyle was now at Berwick, exerting every art to seduce these noblemen, or at least to make them compromise Montrose, and had already sent for David Leslie to come with all his horse, and redeem the fortunes of the faction in Scotland. Montrose himself only quitted his leaguer, and marched to the south, in consequence of letters from the King, which reached him by various messengers at this time, and all these letters repeated the injunction for him to join Roxburgh and Traquair, and to take their assistance and advice, as noblemen whose fidelity and inclination to the Royal cause was unquestionable. Montrose, accordingly, reviewed his troops, and knighted Macdonald, on the 3d of September. On the following day he began his march. At this critical moment, Macdonald went off in the opposite direction with the Highlanders, and on the second day of Montrose's march, Aboyne quitted the Standard also. But the desperate fortunes of the King in England had greatly increased his desire to form a junction with his victorious Lieutenant, and Montrose was not the man to turn back, under any disadvantage, from a march to meet his Sovereign, at that Sovereign's repeated commands. Had every soldier deserted him, he would have gone alone. As it was, with but the shadow of his former army, he passed Edinburgh, and marching through the Lothians, he encamped at Cranston Kirk, on Saturday the 6th of September, and appointed Dr Wishart to preach a sermon on Sunday, which he intended as a day of rest for his troops. But in the morning Lord Erskine gave him certain information that David Leslie, with some

thousands of cavalry, was already at Berwick, and he suggested the propriety of a timely retreat. Instead of retreating, Montrose, having countermanded Dr Wishart's sermon, pressed onwards through the Strath of the Gala, until he met his friends the Marquis of Douglas and Lord Ogilvy with their miserable levies. At the same time there came to him the courtly and cautious Earl of Traquair, with many a flattering promise of support, which, if sincere at the time, were never to be fulfilled. The Earl himself returned to his home, but afterwards sent his son, Lord Linton, to the Standard, at the head of a gallant troop of horse. Montrose marched forward to Kelso in the hope of meeting the Earls of Home and Roxburgh. There the tidings reached him that these noblemen had been surprised by a party of Leslie's horse, and were prisoners in Berwick. It is of little importance to the history of Montrose whether the failure of all his hopes in those quarters was the consequence of spiritless and wavering policy, on the part of these nobles, or of the downright treachery with which they are charged by Wishart and Guthrie. Certain it is that David Leslie, after having determined, in a council of war, to make for the Grampians and thus place himself betwixt Montrose and his fastnesses, suddenly altered the line of his march, and went directly in pursuit of the Royalists. It is said, and is most probable, that Traquair, Home, and Roxburgh, having discovered the unexpected weakness of Montrose's army, considered his cause hopeless, and thought now of little else than consulting their own personal safety, by a well-timed compromise. The allegation, that they effected this by means of secretly communicating the fact to Leslie, is

not proved, and we may hope is untrue. Their conduct, however, produced the same result as if it had been the blackest treachery. While Montrose, now hopeless of effecting a junction with the King, was retracing his steps westward from the Borders, with the view of recruiting in the counties of Nithisdale, Annandale, and Ayr, David Leslie, apprized of the forlorn state of the Standard, had turned to seek it. And soon afterwards, a hurried order from Traquair recalled Lord Linton and his troop from Montrose.

But if Huntly and Aboyne had supported and clung to the Standard with the determined loyalty of Airly and Ogilvy, the Gordons would have followed to a man,—the noblemen of the Borders would have been induced to active loyalty,—and the person of the now ruined King would at least have come under the protection of Montrose, who certainly would have taken no price for his blood. The fatal effect of the defection of the Gordons was keenly felt by Montrose, and probably at his desire was the following letter written by Lord Ogilvy to Aboyne. It has not hitherto been printed or noticed, and will be found to cast more light upon the causes of Aboyne's desertion, than any of our historians have done.

"My Lord,

"Though I know all the baits and enticements of the world will not be able to make you do any thing unworthy of yourself, yet, my Lord, my constant affection and brotherhood to yourself, and respect to your old honourable family, whereunto now ye have chiefest interest, inforceth me to present to your Lordship in your honour that which doth concern your Lordship, that knowing of it you may be upon your guard. Ar-

gyle leaves no winds unfurled to sow dissension among you, and draw your Lordship off, and hath ordered a friend of yours to write to that effect to you and your father, by Provost Leslie of Aberdeen. Likewise Hary Mountgomery hath commissions to my Lord your father, and your Lordship's self for that end, and is on his journey. I think he be now northward, having got my Lord Drummond's fine of L. 30,000. Both Drummond and your sister* hath sent me word, desiring I should with all expedition shew your Lordship that your Lordship should take some fit opportunity for taking Mountgomery prisoner. As also that Argyle, notwithstanding of any oaths or promises that he may seem to make to you, does intend nothing but your dishonour—the utter extirpating of all memory of your old family, and, if it could lie on your hands, the ruinating and betraying of the King's service; and this my Lady Drummond told me before I came out of prison; and, since, she sent me commission to entreat that ye will not be ensnared, for they are striving to draw your Lordship off, and others, thinking thereby to turn every man as desperate as themselves. So they are begging grace to themselves, but cannot obtain it, and seeing they see nothing but inevitable ruin before them, they would engage, deeply, innocents with them. I know your Lordship's gallantry to be such that I will not presume to go further than faithfully to render up my commission to you. When any thing further worthy your Lordship's knowledge occurs, I shall instantly give notice thereof. In the interim I continue your Lordship's humble servant,

"OGILVY." †

* Married to Lord Drummond. See p. 275.

† This interesting letter I find among the Wodrow manuscripts in the Advocates' Library. It is entitled, "Copy of my Lord Ogilvie's

It is Bishop Burnet who says,—"The Marquis of Montrose made a great progress, but he laid no *lasting foundation*, for he did not make himself master of the strong places or passes of the kingdom. After his last and greatest victory at Kilsyth, he was *lifted up out of measure*—he thought he was now master, but had no scheme how to fix his conquests." This malicious nonsense has been hastily adopted by many respectable historians as a true estimate of Montrose's plan, and the merit of his success. Hence Malcolm Laing asserts, that "it was obvious, to more attentive observers, that the strength and the successes of Montrose were transient; he had overrun the country, in the course of a barbarous and desultory war, undertaken in the most desperate circumstances, waged by banditti, and supported by depredations, but had *acquired no fortified place or pass*, nor established any durable foundation in Scotland." From the same source flows the critique of Dr Cook, that, "Montrose's great object should have been to keep the advantage which he had gained, to root out the Covenanters, and to secure the whole kingdom for his master; but he formed schemes which precipitated his ruin."

None of these historians afford the information, by what possibility Montrose, with his peculiar following, and without artillery, could have taken the strongholds of Scotland, or kept possession of what they vaguely term the "passes of the kingdom." But the criticism is as ill-informed as it is unreasonable. Montrose was playing a far better game than to exhaust his resources by

letter to my Lord Aboyne." The date is not given; but it was obviously written betwixt the 4th of September, 1645, when Aboyne left Montrose, and the ensuing 13th of September, which was the day of Philiphaugh.

besieging castles, even had he possessed the means of making the attempt. One stronghold he did occupy, besides the castles of Huntly, namely, Blair in Athol, where he kept his stores and his prisoners. He required no more for his purpose, which was to clear Scotland of every Covenanter in arms, and then join the King, on the Borders, whom the gaining of a single battle in England would have enabled to fulfil Montrose's admirable scheme, indicated in the quaint quotation, "come *thou* and take the city." Montrose had played *his* part—he had "conquered from Dan to Bersheeba." He had even gone far to do what Dr Cook blames him for omitting, namely, "to root out the Covenanters." It is said, that, in the course of his single twelvemonth's career of victory, at least sixteen thousand *armed Covenanters* died in the battle or pursuit, and not a hundred Royalists.* What scheme had Montrose formed "which precipitated the King's ruin?" Was it the fault of Montrose that, while every blow he struck shook the Covenant to its centre, the collateral career of Charles was a series of false steps and misfortunes? Had the King gained the battle of Naseby, and marched with a victorious army to Scotland, what then would have been the commentary of Burnet, and Laing, and Cook, upon the successes of Montrose? Nay, had the fates not been against Charles to the very dregs of his career, that which Montrose achieved would alone have sufficed to save the life of the monarch, if not his throne. When David Leslie was on his hurried march to Scotland, after the battle

* Malcolm Laing is pleased to say that Montrose's wars were "waged by banditti." They were the King's subjects, fighting in defence of the Throne, under the Royal Standard, displayed by the King's Lieutenant, clothed with the King's commission, under the King's nephew.

of Kilsyth, he paused at Rotheram, with men and horses so fatigued, that, as he himself afterwards declared, they could have made no effectual resistance. The King was then at Doncaster, on his way to meet Montrose. He was at the head of four thousand cavaliers. Three thousand foot, raised by the gentlemen of Yorkshire, were about to join him. He could have annihilated Leslie, and had not the impetuous Rupert unfortunately been absent, that blow would in all probability have been struck. Urged on his fate by more timid councils, Charles, when the tidings reached him that the Scotch horse were within ten miles, instead of being advised to seize that golden opportunity, as Montrose would have done, altered his plan of marching northward, and retreated to Newark. Even that false move, at the eleventh hour of his misfortunes in the field, decided the fate of the King, as it did that of Montrose, and the kingdom. About three weeks from this period elapsed before David Leslie was at Philiphaugh. The genius of Montrose had inevitably led him to anticipate a different result. Burnet's picture of him, lingering on the Borders, without a rational scheme, or certain aim, and with no other principle of action than vainglorious reflections and vaunts on the subject of his last victory,—is a false picture. He was there, by appointment of his sovereign, waiting in breathless expectation for tidings of the King, or Lord Digby. Could his forces have combined with theirs, the Gordons and the Claymores would to a man have joined the Standard, —and the game of the Covenant was up. Montrose knew this so well, that their desertion was not sufficient to deter him from marching south. For the same reason, the tidings of David Leslie's approach was not sufficient to scare him to the mountains. ' Surely,' he

thought, 'the Cavaliers will cross his march, ere he can cross the borders.' And it is more rational to conceive the anxious and impatient hero,—as day after day he heard of nothing but Leslie's march,—exclaiming to Sir Robert Spotiswood and the rest, 'Good God, what is the King, and Rupert, and Digby about, are they asleep or dead?'—than it is to picture him "lifted up out of measure." Our historians, who have suffered the malicious puerilities of Burnet to tinge their own pages on the subject, would have done well to have studied the following letter, from Sir Robert Spotiswood to Lord Digby, dated "near to Kelso, September 10th, 1645," and found in the President's pocket when taken at Philiphaugh.

"My Lord,

"We are now arrived *ad columnas Herculis*, to Tweedside—dispersed all the King's enemies, within this kingdom, to several places, some to Ireland, most of them to Berwick—and had no open enemy more to deal with, *if you had kept David Leslie there*, and not suffered him to come in here, to make head against us of new. It is thought strange here, that *at least you have sent no party after him*, which we expected, although he should not come at all. You little imagine the difficulties my Lord Marquis hath here to wrestle with. The overcoming of the enemy is the least of them—he hath more to do with his seeming friends. Since I came to him (which was but within these ten days, after much toil and hazard,) I have seen much of it. He was forced to dismiss his Highlanders for a season, who would needs return home to look to their own affairs. When they were gone, *Aboyne took a caprice*, and had away with him the greatest strength he

had of horse. Notwithstanding whereof he resolved to follow his work, and clear this part of the kingdom (that was only resting,) of the rebels that had fled to Berwick, and kept a bustling here. Besides, he was *invited* hereunto by the Earls of Roxburgh and Home, who, when he was within a dozen miles of them, have rendered their houses and themselves to David Lesly, and are carried in as prisoners to Berwick. Traquair hath been with him, and promised more nor he hath yet performed. All these were great disheartenings to any other but to him, whom nothing of this kind can amaze. With the small forces he hath presently with him, he is resolved to pursue David Leslie, and not suffer him to grow stronger. *If you would perform that which you lately promised*, both this kingdom, and the north of England might be soon reduced, and considerable assistance sent from hence to his Majesty. However, nothing will be wanting on our parts here. These that are together are both loyal and resolute; only a little encouragement from you (as much to let it be seen that they are not neglected as for any thing else) would crown the work speedily. This is all I have for the present, but that I am your Lordship's most faithful friend, "RO. SPOTISWOOD." *

* This letter appears to have been little considered by our historians; probably from being buried in the appendices to the translations of Wishart. But it deserves a prominent place in the illustrations of Montrose's career. It is addressed to George Lord Digby, the second Earl of Bristol, so celebrated for the beauty of his person and the loyal chivalry of his spirit. He was the original promoter of Montrose's scheme to conquer Scotland. Clarendon tells us that "the design of the Earls of Montrose and Antrim was wholly managed with the King by the Lord Digby." As Montrose progressed in his unparalleled path of victory, Digby became most ambitious to join him, and made the attempt even after Philiphaugh. "The Lord Digby," says Sir Philip Warwick, "entered upon a romantic design, with a small body of horse, to march

It was on the 12th of September that Montrose paused at Selkirk, his mind being at the moment unfortunately more occupied with transmitting despatches to the King, than with the necessity of providing against a surprise from so powerful and experienced an enemy as David Leslie. Dr Wishart confesses that his hero upon this occasion entrusted to others a duty it was his usual practice to take upon himself, namely, the placing his horse patrols in the proper quarters, and the selecting and sending forth in every direction, scouts upon whose activity and fidelity he could perfectly rely. Yet never was his personal superintendence of the machinery of his camp more requisite than now. David Leslie, the best soldier that ever degraded the character under the Covenant, was on the borders with an army chiefly composed of from five to six thousand of the flower of the Scottish cavalry from England.* Montrose had lost both the Highlanders and the Gordons,

into Scotland to the assistance of the Earl of Montrose, that most brave loyal Scot, who, to admiration, did defeat so many of the Scots rebels," &c. " But the Lord Digby's design (though he did perchance as much as any man could have done,) evaporated, for he is beaten at his entrance into Yorkshire, and before he got to Carlisle defeated, and so forced to ship himself for Ireland instead of Scotland." Digby has been justly likened to the heroes of romance, but fell short of the genius by which his friend Montrose was assimilated to the heroes of Plutarch.

* Rushworth gives the following account of the force sent from England against Montrose: " The Scots army in England hearing of these great successes of Montrose at home, raised their siege from before Hereford, and dispatched Lieutenant-General David Leslie, with most of their horse for Scotland. The 6th of September Leslie passed the Tweed, and in Scotland mustered nine regiments of horse, two regiments of Dragoons, and eight hundred foot, which were taken out of the garrison of Newcastle, and other forces rallied in that kingdom. Montrose had instructions from the King to march towards the Tweed, to be ready there to join with a party of horse which should be sent him out of England."—Vol. vi. p. 231.

the very staple of his army. The Ogilvies were only a force sufficient for his body-guard. His Irish infantry were not more than from five to seven hundred strong, and the recent levies were a mob of clowns, and degenerate Prickers, who scarcely knew how to manage their horses. The weather too conspired against him, for the face of the country for miles around was enveloped in a dense fog, and, moreover, the inhabitants of those southern districts were too much under the influence of the Covenant to busy themselves in bringing intelligence to the King's Lieutenant. To the captains of his horse, the latter intrusted the duty of placing sentinels, and sending forth the scouts. His infantry he established and entrenched on the left bank of the Ettrick, on the plain of Philiphaugh, sheltered or supported by the Harehead-wood, which he fondly deemed a protection from a sudden infall of cavalry. Montrose himself, with the best of his own cavalry, took up his quarters in the village on the other side of the river, and there, in council with his friends, Napier, Airly, and Crawford, he was occupied during most of the night, framing despatches to the King, which were to be sent by break of day in charge of a trusty messenger he had just procured. As the night wore on, uncertain rumours were brought to him, of the approach of an enemy, which he transmitted from time to time to the officers of his guard. As often the reply came back, that all was well. * As day dawned,

* Bishop Guthrie records that it was about midnight, before the morning of the surprise, that Traquair "privately called away his son, the Lord Linton and his troop, without giving any notice thereof to Montrose." This, among other circumstances, brought upon Traquair the imputation of having been in secret correspondence with David Leslie. That nobleman most probably had discovered the fact, of which uncertain rumours were brought to Montrose during the night, that the lat-

the scouts were again sent out, who returned declaring that they had scoured the country far and wide, examined every road and by-path, and they "rashly wished damnation to themselves, if an enemy were within ten miles."

Shrouded like a thunder-bolt in the surrounding gloom, David Leslie lay quartered that night within four miles of Selkirk, and, ere the dawn could pierce the fog that so greatly favoured him, was within half a mile of Philiphaugh before his approach was known. When this intelligence reached Montrose, he flung himself on the first horse he could find, and, with his attendant guard of nobles and gentlemen, instantly galloped across the river to the scene of action, where the confusion in every quarter of his leaguer indicated the fatal effect of his temporary absence. Not an officer was in his place, scarcely a Pricker mounted, when the clang of Leslie's trumpets broke through the gloom, and the right wing of the Royalists was at the same moment sustaining the overwhelming mass of his iron brigades, in full career. There, too, fought Montrose's chivalry, about a hundred and twenty noblemen and knights. Twice were the rebels repulsed with slaughter. But Montrose never had a chance. Two thousand of Leslie's horse, by an easy detour across the river, came upon the rear of the little band, already sustaining the

ter was about to be devoured by an army of horse, against which he had not the slightest chance. Traquair, timid and temporizing, may, in the agitation of the moment, and thinking more at the time of his son's and his own personal safety, than of the honour of either, have hastily withdrawn Lord Linton from the danger. No better case, that I discover on examining the authorities, can be made out for Traquair in this matter; nor, according to the illustrations of his character already afforded, have I been able to adopt the extreme view, of his deliberate treachery, taken by Dr Wishart.

shock of double that number in front, and the struggle of the Royalists was now for life. Montrose's infantry, after quarter asked and given, threw down their arms, and became defenceless prisoners. Montrose himself, and about thirty cavaliers, for a while engaged in desperate and personal conflict with the enemy, who surrounded him in such dense masses that he gave up the hope of escape, and fought as one who meant to die rather than yield, and to sell his life as dearly as possible. But the friends around him, especially the Marquis of Douglas and Sir John Dalziel, implored him to make an effort for his liberty, and to live for better fortune. At last, while the enemy were distracted by their desire to plunder the baggage, Montrose and his friends cut their way in a desperate charge, and went off followed by a party of the rebel horse. This pursuit only served to dignify the flight of the hero of his country and age. Captain Bruce, and two cornets, each bearing a standard, led the party ambitious of his capture. But, like him who caught the Tartar of old, they could neither bring back the prize nor return themselves. Montrose faced them in a charge which cost some of the pursuers their lives, and routed the rest, with the exception of Captain Bruce, and the two standard bearers, whom our hero chained even to the wheels of his flying chariot.*

* Dr Wishart's account of Montrose's bravery is confirmed by Rushworth, who says,—"Montrose fought very bravely, and rallied his horse, and charged the pursuers once or twice, and by that bravery lost more men than otherwise he would have done."—Bishop Burnet, however, (in a passage which his son had suppressed,) says,—"In his defeat, Montrose took too much care of himself, for he was *never* willing to expose himself too much,"—a most impudent falsehood. Mr Brodie can neither forego the authority of Rushworth, nor the malice of Burnet, so he adopts both. "Montrose," he says, "*repeatedly rallied* his horse in

Thus set the star of Montrose's fortune,—not of his heroism, which was yet to take a brighter though a bloodier farewell. It cannot be said that he ever lost a battle. But that character, which even his factious enemies had long before given him in their pasquils,—"*invictus armis*,"—was now breathed on by defeat,—the bloom of his victories was gone, and the last hope for the monarchy of England, and for the honour of Scotland, expired at Philiphaugh.

> A frame of adamant—a soul of fire—
> No dangers fright him, and no labours tire;—
> He comes—not want and cold his course delay;—
> Hide, blushing glory, hide Pultowa's day!

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the flight, but his efforts only augmented his loss. His only resource was *disgraceful* flight to the mountains."

Burnet asserts that Montrose, on the night before the surprise, had written a letter to the King, which was never sent, and which contained the quotation from Samuel. This probably is an inaccurate reference to what Montrose wrote, and sent to the King, after Inverlochy. See p. 395. The spirit of that quotation has been misunderstood. Clearly it referred to Montrose's long impression that *Hamilton* and *Argyle* were actuated by views of *their own* aggrandizement in Scotland. Dr Cook alludes to the letter as "a vaunting letter of Montrose," from which it may be inferred that the Reverend author never saw the letter itself.

Of the two covenanting commanders at Philiphaugh, Leslie was rewarded with 50,000 merks and a chain of gold, Middleton with 25,000 merks. It was in reserve for them both to be raised to the peerage by Charles II. Sir John Dalziel almost forced Montrose off the field, and it is curious to observe that Sir John's brother, the Earl of Carnwath, was he who seized the King's bridle at the battle of Naseby, and led him off, saying,—"will you go upon your death!"

## CHAPTER XVII.

A SCENE OF THE COVENANTING REIGN OF TERROR.

From the sad chapter of Montrose's defeat, we must turn to the revolting one of the consequent fate of his followers and friends. Those who cut their way along with him were the Marquis of Douglas, Lord Napier, (though he declared himself to be "ould, and not fit for fighting,") the Lords Erskine and Fleming, Sir John Dalziel, and a few others of minor distinction. They went up the Yarrow, and across the Minch-moor, overtaking in their progress a body of their own cavalry who had quitted the field sooner. Sixteen miles from the scene of his disaster Montrose first drew bridle, at the house of Traquair, where he asked to see the Earl and his son; but, adds Wishart, "they were both denied to be at home, though some gentlemen of honour and credit affirmed they were both in the house." At break of day the fugitives crossed the Clyde at a ford, to which they were conducted by Sir John Dalziel, and there, to the great joy of all, the Earls of Crawford and Airly joined them. These noblemen had escaped by a different road, and were accompanied by two hundred cavalry. Montrose now felt himself sufficiently protected, and, with a spirit little affected by his defeat, instantly took measures to recruit his army. Douglas and Airly he commissioned to go into Angus, and Lord Erskine into Mar, to levy their respective friends and vassals. Sir John Dalziel was sent to Lord Carnegy

with a similar commission. At the same time Montrose despatched letters to Aboyne and Macdonald, urging them to return with the Gordons and the clans. He himself, still attended by Lord Napier and the Master, proceeded with the rest of the horse across the Forth and the Earn, and so through Perthshire by the foot of the hills into Athol, where, notwithstanding that their harvest was not yet gathered in, or their houses repaired from the desolations they had suffered, four hundred of the indomitable loyalists of that district were again ready to follow the Standard.

Meanwhile the Kirk militant triumphed. Cruel as David Leslie was in his own nature, lawless, and reckless of human life and liberty, as was the covenanting Parliament, the results of Montrose's defeat derived their fiendish characteristics from neither, but from Argyle, the king of the Kirk, Archibald Johnston, its minion, and the dominant clergy themselves. Comparatively few fell in the fight at Philiphaugh, and scarcely any in the flight. The principal slaughter was of defenceless and unresisting prisoners, after quarter asked and given. The main body of the Irish had betaken themselves to an enclosure on an eminence, which, says Bishop Guthrie, " they maintained, until Stewart, the Adjutant, being amongst them, procured quarter for them from David Leslie ; whereupon they delivered up their arms, and came forth to a plain field, as they were directed. But then did the churchmen quarrel [complain] that quarter should be given to such wretches as they, and declared it to be an act of most sinful impiety to spare them, wherein divers of the noblemen complied with the clergy ; and so they found out a distinction whereby to bring David Leslie fairly off, and this it was that quarter was only meant to Stewart the Adju-

tant himself, but not to his company. After which, having delivered the Adjutant to Middleton to be his prisoner, the army was let loose upon them, and cut them all in pieces." The picture is awfully darkened by the fact, that from the Bible itself these ministers of blood enforced suchscenes. " Thine eye shalt not pity, and thou shalt not spare,"—and, " What meaneth then this bleating of the sheep in my ears, and the lowing of the oxen,"—were the sacred texts by which, upon this and some other occasions, they diverted from defenceless prisoners the rude mercies of soldiers weary of blood.

But there were other prisoners, of the dearest friends of Montrose, and the brightest ornaments of Scotland, reserved for a *bonne bouche* to the Covenant. Unhappily, after extricating themselves from the fight, the Earl of Hartfell, the Lords Drummond and Ogilvy, Sir Robert Spotiswood, Sir Alexander Leslie of Auchintoul, Sir William Rollock, Sir Philip Nisbet, William Murray, brother to the Earl of Tullibardine, Alexander Ogilvy, younger of Innerquharity, Colonel Nathaniel Gordon, Mr Andrew Guthrie, son to the Bishop of Murray, all missed their way in paths unknown to them, and being taken by the country people, were by them delivered into the hands of the Covenanters. Colonel O'Kyan and Major Lachlin, both greatly endeared to Montrose by their gallantry and fidelity, had been reserved from the massacre of the Irish soldiers, for a more ignominious execution. " The play," as Robert Baillie would call it, began with the death of these two Irish officers. They were subjects of the King, taken fighting for his throne under his commission, and after quarter asked and granted on the field. In every view of " the cause" they were entitled to be treated as honourable prisoners of war. They

were immediately taken to Edinburgh, and hanged without delay upon the Castle Hill. Before the end of September Leslie brought his army through West Lothian to Glasgow, where the Committees of the Estates and of the Kirk sat in judgment against the rest of their illustrious prisoners. The Estates were disinclined to take their lives. The Moderator was deputed to urge their execution in the name of the Kirk, and that overture prevailed. Ten were marked for death, namely, Hartfell, Ogilvy, Spotiswood, Rollock, Nisbet, Nathaniel Gordon, young Innerquharity, William Murray, Andrew Guthrie, and Stewart, the Irish Adjutant. Both Committees then adjourned until the following month, when they again assembled at Glasgow about the 20th of October, being the time and place fixed by Montrose for the Parliament he had been commissioned to summon.

Meanwhile Montrose was kept in a state of constant bodily fatigue and mental suffering in the north, vainly exerting himself to bring back Macdonald and the Gordons to the Standard. Huntly's jealousy, long brooded over in his lurking place of Strathnaver, had become more and more impracticable, and that ever loyal and once gallant nobleman, even derived from the recent disaster a mean and ridiculous hope of being yet able to rival Montrose. Under this influence Aboyne tortured Montrose with false promises, and the most tantalizing and inconsistent conduct. And this torture was increased, on the one hand, by messages from the King, which reached the Royal Lieutenant by Captain Thomas Ogilvy, younger of Powry, and Captain Robert Nisbet, (who came by different roads,) requiring him to make what haste he could to join Lord George Digby and a party of cavaliers on the English borders,

—and, on the other hand, by the dreadful accounts brought him of the massacre of his followers and the impending fate of his dearest friends. That no mercy would be shown them Montrose augured from what had already passed. He learnt that, besides the slaughter of the prisoners at Philiphaugh, many of the unfortunate followers of his camp had been, some time afterwards, deliberately condemned to be cast over a high bridge and so destroyed. Their crime was being the wives and children of the Irish soldiers. In one day eighty women and children, some infants at their mother's breast, were precipitated over the bridge at Linlithgow,* and if any

* See note to Kirkton's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 48, and Sir George Mackenzie's Vindication, &c. there quoted. The excellent historian of the Kirk, Dr Cook, under a clause of his history, which he entitles, "Cruelty of the Covenanters, particularly of the Ministers," candidly admits that "they displayed a savage violence which justly deserves the reprobation of posterity. Not only were those who fled from the battle inhumanely massacred, but, after all danger was past, many of the prisoners were put to death." He adds, "I see no reason for disbelieving the story of the massacre. It is explicitly mentioned by Guthrie, and Burnet was convinced of its truth." Dr Cook's remark is in reference to Malcolm Laing's impugning the veracity of Wishart, as to the atrocities committed after the battle. Laing insinuates that there is no truth in the story of the massacre of the disarmed soldiery, and as for the scene at the bridge he triumphantly exclaims, "Salmonet and Guthrie were ashamed to transcribe the last story from Wishart, of the prisoners thrown alive into *the Tweed*. The fact is, that from Berwick to Peebles there was not a single bridge on the Tweed, and farther Hay is obliged to transfer the scene to Linlithgow Bridge, above forty miles from the field of battle." Sir Walter Scott very properly will not admit this as sufficient to convict Dr Wishart of so deliberate a falsehood: "Many others are said, by Wishart, to have been precipitated from a high bridge over the Tweed. This, as Mr Laing remarks, is impossible; because there was not a bridge over the Tweed betwixt Peebles and Berwick. But there is an old Bridge over the Ettrick, only four miles from Philiphaugh, and another over the Yarrow, both of which lay in the very line of flight and pursuit; and either might have been the scene of the massacre."—*Border Minstrelsy*, Vol. ii. p. 23. Mr Brodie, however, corrects Sir Walter Scott, and says,—"Wishart speaks of the amazing cruelty practised by Leslie, drowning hundreds by throwing them

struggled to the bank of the river they were knocked on the head, or thrust in again by the soldiers. Nor was this all. Upon the 28th of October, Sir William Rollock, the constant attendant of Montrose from the commencement of the expedition, was selected for immediate execution. He had otherwise incurred the fearful enmity of Argyle. When, after the battle of Aberdeen, this gallant gentleman was returning to Montrose, from that mission to the King we have elsewhere noticed, he fell into the hands of the Dictator, and would have shared the fate of James Small, had he not pretended to yield to the offer of life, and promise of rewards, which were to be the price of his *assassinating Montrose.* To Montrose, accordingly, being suffered to return, he disclosed the fact, warning him at the same time to beware of that infernal system employed against him. Such is the anecdote deliberately told and published by Dr Wishart, in the lifetime and under the auspices of

over a bridge, though there *was no bridge there;* and he estimates the number thus murdered far beyond what he would allow to have been on Montrose's side!"—*Hist.* Vol. iv. p. 36.

With regard to the last part of our historiographer's hit, he forgets that the cook-boys, women, children, and other followers of the camp, thus massacred in cold blood, would not be included in the estimate of Montrose's *troops.* It is singular, however, that every one of the above authors had neglected to look at Dr Wishart's original Latin, or even the contemporary translation, in neither of which is there any mention of *the Tweed* as the scene of the massacre. The mistake, thus made the test of his veracity, occurs in some of the other translations. The original expressions are,—"*ab edito ponte præcipitatos, et* sublabentibus aquis *immersos.*" And the translation published in the year 1648 has it,—"thrown headlong from off a high bridge, and the men, together with their wives and sucking children, drowned *in the river beneath.*" There is no room whatever to doubt the story. Months after the battle, the covenanting soldiers were thus complained of even by the covenanting inhabitants: "Twenty or thirty several bills of complaint to the House of the lewd demeanour of soldiers, their killing and wounding of men and *women*, their plundering, and stealing of horses."—*Balfour's Notes.*

his authority, Montrose himself. Let those who are yet inclined to doubt it, compare it with the history of the murder of Kilpont. 'Dead men tell no tales,' was the favourite maxim of Argyle, and the blood of Sir William Rollock was the first to stain that scaffold. On the following day, died young Ogilvy of Innerquharity, who, says Bishop Guthrie, "was but a boy of scarce eighteen years of age, lately come from the schools;" and upon that occasion it was, that Mr David Dickson said, the 'work goes bonnily on,' which passed afterwards into a proverb." Here, too, the finger of Argyle is visible. He was at deadly feud with the Ogilvies. Lord Ogilvy was at the moment beyond his clutch, being secretly protected by the influence of Lindsay, who was Ogilvy's cousin-german, and the brother-in-law of the great leaders of the intermediate faction, Hamilton and Lanerick. Such was the real cause,—and what conceivable excuse can be stated for the execution of this gallant boy? With him on the same scaffold perished Sir William Nisbet of West-Nisbet, who had for some time worthily commanded a regiment of the Royalists in England.

A pause now occurred in these executions. Montrose, just after they had taken place, hurried with about twelve hundred foot and three hundred horse, from the north into the Lennox, and the neighbourhood of Glasgow, where the Committees were guarded with no less than three thousand of Leslie's cavalry. For the space of nearly a month, he endeavoured to provoke them to a battle, and daily threatened the town in the most daring manner. His enemies were overawed, and (as they had formerly done at Perth,) paused in their vengeance against his friends. If Aboyne and Macdonald had been with him, those friends would not have perished.

On the 19th of November, Montrose marched back to Athol, struggling through the deep snow of the hills of Menteith and Stratherne, in a severer winter than the last, and with a heavier heart. His object was to make another effort to rouse and conciliate Huntly. He had left his friend Lord Napier at Fincastle, ill from fatigue of body and distress of mind. He returned just in time to consign him to the grave, and to do all honour to his tomb in the Kirk of Blair. This "man of a most innocent life and happy parts,"* at least had not glutted their vengeance. The old and tried friend of James VI. and Charles I., he of whom the latter once said, 'this man hath suffered enough already,' was released from further suffering, and spared the pang of knowing the ultimate fate of his Monarch, and his pupil.† The Marquis of Douglas, the Lords Erskine and

* See introductory chapter, pp. 8, 9.

† Lord Napier died some time betwixt the 19th of November 1645, and the 13th of December immediately following. Of the latter date I find in the MS. Record of the covenanting Parliament, the minute of a warrant in favour of "John Naper, brother to the late Lord Naper, now prisoner in the tolbooth of Edinburgh." The Parliament ordains the Magistrates of Edinburgh to give the said John 12 shillings Scots a day for his maintenance, and that of his wife Sara Naper, and grants two dollars for her expences to carry her from St Andrews to Edinburgh to her husband. This was John Napier of Easter-Torrie, the eldest son of the Inventor of Logarithms, by his second wife, Agnes Chisholme of Cromlix. Lord Napier was the only son of the first marriage with Elizabeth Stirling of Keir. John must have been imprisoned after the battle of Kilsyth.

In the same Record, and also of date 13th December 1645, there is minuted a petition to the Parliament from Montrose's niece, "Mrs Lilias Napier, dochter lawful to umquhil Archibald Lord Naper." The petition narrates that her father had "provided for her by bond, in ane sum of money for my provision and portion natural, and now since his decease, being destitute of parents, having nothing to look for but that sum for the advancement of my fortune, when it shall please God the same shall offer, and in the meantime nothing but the interest and profit thereof to maintain me, and hearing that your Lordships be about to

Fleming, and old Lord Airly were still with Montrose, who foresaw that their constitutions would sink under the fatigues of such a winter campaign. So he agreed that they should compound for their safety through what interest they possessed, which accordingly they did,* with the exception of Airly, who refused to quit the Standard.

On the 20th of November, some days after Montrose marched northward, the Parliament met at St Andrews, into the Castle of which all his friends had been removed, with the exception of the Adjutant Stewart, who was so fortunate as to make his escape to Montrose. The whole influence of Argyle and the churchmen were now directed to the accomplishment of the execution of these noblemen and gentlemen. Even without the testimony of Wishart and Guthrie, the notes of that Parliament, left in manuscript by the covenanting Lord Lyon, are sufficient to prove a backwardness on the part of the Estates to bring them to the scaffold, and a determination on the part of the Kirk to have their blood. He has noted the texts of the various clergymen who preached to the Parliament, and the speech of their Procurator, Archibald Johnston. Mr Robert Blair, minister of St Andrews,

dispone my father's estate for the use of the public," therefore poor Lilias prays them to take her hard case into consideration. The petition is read in Parliament, they promise to aliment her, and remit it to the Committee for money.

* The following entry in the Lord Lyon's notes, of date 20th December 1645, indicates the arrangement they had made, and the usual inclination of the Covenanters to break faith. "A quere proposed to the House by the Committee of processes, anent a clause contained in L. General David Leslie's pass to the Lords Erskine and Fleming, viz. that he promised on his honour that their persons should be safe and free. The House remits this back to the said Committee of Processes." They were heavily fined, and their estates occupied.

opened that session with a sermon on the ci. Psalm, the last verse of which is,—"I will early destroy all the wicked of the land, that I may cut off all wicked doers from the city of the Lord." On the same day, immediately after calling the roll, he who, in the year 1641, wrote so gloatingly to Balmerino,—"the lower House grows daily stouter—will have Strafford's life*—Lord encourage and direct them,"—thus spoke in the Parliament of Scotland: "Sir Archibald Johnston had a long harangue to the House, intreating them to unity amongst themselves, to lay all private respects and interest aside, and *to do justice on* delinquents, and malignants, showing that their delaying formerly had provoked God's two great servants against them, the sword and pestilence, who had ploughed up the land with deep furrows; he showed that the massacre of Kilsyth was never to be forgotten, and that God, who was the just judge of the world, would not but judge righteously, and keep in remembrance that sea of innocent blood, which lay before his throne crying for a vengeance on these blood-thirsty rebels, the butchers of so many innocent souls." And, in order to insure the "unity amongst themselves" which he desiderated, the same eloquent speaker urged a strict scrutiny into the sentiments of the members of that House, which he compared to "Noah's ark, which had in it both foul and clean creatures." Upon the 4th of December there was "a petition exhibited to the House by the prisoners now processed, and in the Castle of St Andrew's, desyring that they may be proceeded against *not by a Committee*, but that they may be judged either by their peers, the Justice-General, or before the whole Parliament." It seems that in this just and constitutional petition they had speci-

* See Vol. i. p. 358.

ally objected to the interference of the Procurator, for, in the afternoon of the same day, "the House answers the prisoners' bill by repelling each reason of the same in particular, and as for the declinator of Sir Archibald Johnston, the House in one voice repels the same likewise, if they have not any personal exception against his person, then they may propone the same to the Committee, which was ordered to proceed in their processes." Upon the 5th of December "a remonstrance from the Commissioners of the General Assembly, to the High Court of Parliament, for justice upon delinquents and malignants who have shed the blood of their brethren," was read in the house; and at the same time four petitions, from the provincial assemblies of the most rabid counties, were presented by about two hundred individuals. Lord Lindsay, President of the Parliament, thus replied: "That the Parliament took their *modest* petitions and *seasonable* remonstrances, very kindly, and rendered them hearty thanks, and willed them to be confident that with all alacrity and diligence they would go about and proceed in answering the expectation of all their reasonable desires, as they might themselves perceive in their procedure thithertills; and withal he entreated them, in the name of the House, that they would be earnest with God, to implore and beg his blessing to assist and *encourage* them to the performance of what they demanded; he showed them also, that the House had appointed two of each estate to draw an answer to them in writing, and their petitions and remonstrances to be *record to posterity*."

Under this Christian influence the bloody play proceeded. Upon the 23d of December, all that yet existed of the soldiers and followers of the Irish regiments at Philiphaugh were thus disposed of: "The House

ordains the Irish prisoners taken at and after Philiphaugh, in all the prisons of the kingdom, especially in the prisons of Selkirk, Jedburgh, Glasgow, Dumbartane, and Perth, to be executed without any assize or process, conform to the treaty betwixt both kingdoms past in act." Lord Ogilvy, Sir Robert Spotiswood, Nathaniel Gordon, William Murray, and Andrew Guthrie, maintained their innocence, and pleaded, moreover, that they had been taken on quarter asked and given. After a debate of three hours this defence was repelled. Upon the 16th of January, Spotiswood, Gordon, Murray, and Guthrie were, by a plurality of votes, condemned by the Parliament to be beheaded at the cross of St Andrews, on the following Tuesday, the 20th. Next day, "the Earl of Tullibardine humbly petitions the House that they would be pleased to pardon his brother William Murray's life, in respect, as he averred on his honour, that he was not *compos mentis*, as also *within age*. The House, after debate, refuses his petition, and ordains their sentence to stand." The parties then received their sentence on their knees in the House, and were ordered for execution on the 20th, with the exception of Murray, who was respited for two days that he might be examined in consequence of Tullibardine's again offering for him the pleas of insanity and minority.* The covenanting Earl must have known that these pleas were hopeless. William Murray was indeed not nineteen, but Alexander Ogilvy, whom they had recently butchered at Glasgow, was a twelvemonth

* Shame and remorse, or the intercession of young Murray's mother and sisters, may have occasioned this late, and miserable attempt in the name of the Earl, to save his brother. Bishop Guthrie declares that Tullibardine, in the first instance, urged on the doom of his brother with the rest. And Wishart records the same fact against him.

younger. As for the plea of insanity, that appears to have been a fiction of his friends. On the scaffold this youth astonished the spectators with his magnanimous bearing. Towards the end of his address he elevated his voice, and uttered these words, according to the report of one who heard him: "I trust, my countrymen, that you will consider that the house of Tullibardine and the family of Murray are more honoured than disgraced this day. It adds honour to an ancient race, that its scion, without a stain on his character, and in the prime of his youth, should, readily and cheerfully, render up his life for the sake of such a King, the father of his people, and the munificent patron of my family in particular. Let not my venerated mother, nor my dearest sisters, nor my kindred and friends, weep for the untimely end of one whom death thus honours. Pray for me, and fare ye well." Two days before this execution, Colonel Nathaniel Gordon, Captain Andrew Guthrie, and Sir Robert Spotiswood,—he whom Montrose used to address as "Good President,"—perished with equal constancy on the same scaffold. The two soldiers demeaned themselves in a manner worthy of their gallantry through life, and of the cause in which they died. In the exit of the latter there was something so saint-like as to seem a type of the death of his Sovereign. The crimes libelled against him with unparalleled affrontery were, the having "purchased by pretended ways," the office of Secretary of State, without the consent of Parliament, and, as such, having docqueted Montrose's Commission, and carried it to him in person, by command of his Sovereign. In short, he had succeeded *Lanerick* as Secretary of State. Two words comprehend the offences for which he died—in-

tegrity and loyalty.* He appreciated and dearly loved Montrose, as that letter to Lord Digby we have quoted sufficiently proves. Dated on the 19th of January 1646, the eve of his execution, from St Andrews Castle, the last letter he ever wrote was addressed "for the Lord Marquis of Montrose his Excellence."

"My Noble Lord,

"You will be pleased to accept this last tribute of my service,—this people having condemned me to die for my loyalty to his Majesty, and the respect I am known to carry towards your Excellence, which, I believe, hath been the greater cause, of the two, of my undoing. Always, I hope, by the assistance of God's grace, to do more good to the King's cause, and to the advancement of the service your Excellence hath in hand, by my death, than perhaps otherwise I could have done, being living. For [notwithstanding] all the rubs and discouragements I perceive your Excellence hath had of late, I trust you will not be disheartened to go on, and crown that work you did so gloriously begin, and had achieved so happily if you had not been deserted in the nick. In the end God will surely set up again his own anointed, and, as I have been confident from the beginning, make your Excellence a prime instrument of it. One thing I must humbly recommend to your Excellence, that, as you have done always hitherto, so you will continue by fair and gentle carriage to gain the people's affection to their Prince, rather than to imitate the barbarous inhumanity of your

* Malcolm Laing, trusting to some expressions of Robert Baillie, speaks of the President as one suspected of judicial corruption. Baillie's tongue was no scandal.

adversaries, although they give your Excellence too great provocations to follow their example.

" Now for my last request. In hope that the poor service I could do hath been acceptable to your Excellence, let me be bold to recommend the care of my orphans to you, that when God shall be pleased to settle his Majesty in peace, your Excellence will be a remembrancer to him in their behalf, as also in behalf of my brother's house, that hath been, and is, mightily oppressed for the same respect. Thus being forced to part with your Excellence, as I lived, so I die, your Excellency's most humble and faithful servant,

" Ro. Spotiswood."

The graceful simplicity, the calm and Christian repose of this most affecting letter, betokens a spirit at peace even with his murderers, and shows that the bitterness of death had already passed from him. Montrose was not unmindful of the merciful appeal of the excellent President. Saint Serf, in his valuable dedication, records this fact: " Nay, his inexpressibly malicious enemies found that Montrose's mercy transcended their malice. When those brave persons, after quarter given, were butchered at St Andrews, he refused to retaliate on the prisoners in his power, saying, their barbarity was to him no example, and if the meanest corporal in his army should give quarter to their General, it should be strictly and religiously observed." Dr Wishart refers to the same fact, and declares that Montrose was advised and even importuned to retaliate upon some within his power. But he, whom even some modern historians have accused of being a blood-thirsty assassin, rejected the proposition with abhorrence. " Let them," he said, " set

a price upon our heads—let them employ assassins to destroy us,—let them break faith, and be as wicked as they can—yet shall that never induce us to forsake the brighter paths of virtue, or strive to outdo them in such barbarous deeds." *

The two noblemen, Hartfell and Ogilvy, both narrowly escaped the block. For the blood of Ogilvy, Argyle thirsted ; but the rival faction of Hamilton were inclined to save him, and, it is said, were privy to his escape. On the pretext that he was ill, and through the interest of his relatives Lanerick and Lindsay, his wife, mother, and sister were permitted to visit him in prison. The guards respectfully withdrew from the chamber, when Ogilvy dressed himself in the clothes of his sister, and that young lady put on his night cap and took his place in bed. At eight o'clock at night, the ladies were heard taking leave of the sufferer, and appeared to be in an agony of grief. The guards ushered them out by torch light, and Ogilvy reached without detection the horses provided for him. It took the whole power of the Hamilton party to save these noble ladies from the wrath of Argyle, when the stratagem was discovered. The Earl of Hartfell, on the other hand, was obnoxious to the Hamiltons, and it is said that to spite them Argyle obtained a pardon for that nobleman,—a species of merciful retaliation in which Gillespie Gruamach did not often indulge.

* The Argyle-ridden Peers of Scotland felt their consciences not a little taxed upon this bloody occasion. Some of them timidly expressed the pang: " The Earles of Dunfermline, Cassilis, Lanerick, and Carnwath, were not clear anent the point of quarter."—*Balfour*. Eglinton, Glencairn, Kinghorn, Dunfermline, and Buccleugh, gave their votes for perpetual imprisonment, instead of death to William Murray. Eglinton, Cassilis, Dunfermline, and Carnwath in the like manner voted for the President.

The Master of Napier, and his cousin young Drummond of Balloch, at this time also made a narrow escape. While the Covenanters held their Parliament at St Andrews, Montrose had sent Drummond and Patrick Graham to recruit in Athol, where these two, with seven hundred Athol-men, pursued and attacked a body of about twelve hundred in arms for Argyle, and defeated them in a style worthyof their military school. The battle occurred in Menteith, upon the lands of Lord Napier, (where Argyle had ordered these troops to be quartered,) and many were drowned in the water of Gudy. Those who escaped fled for protection to Argyle himself, who quartered them upon Lord Napier's lands in the Lennox, when Drummond and Inchbrakie had returned to Montrose in the north. The Dictator then went for a time to Ireland, and Napier, hearing of the destruction of his estates, left Montrose in the north, and, in company with Drummond and the Laird of Macnab, passed into Stratherne. There, with a party of not more than fifty men, he took possession of and fortified Montrose's castle of Kincardine, probably intending to organize some protection for his own and Montrose's estates. General Middleton, who had been sent to keep the north of Scotland against Montrose, learning that his nephew had fortified himself in Kincardine, invested it with his whole forces, and battered the walls with artillery brought from Stirling Castle. For fourteen days the castle was held out by this brave little band, who were then reduced to extremity from their well having failed them. It was impossible to hold out longer, and the doom of Napier and his cousin seemed to have arrived, for unquestionably had they been then taken both would have been executed. But these gallant youths had caught the spirit of adventure from their heroic

leader, and they contrived a plan to break through the enemy, who surrounded the castle on all sides. Lord Napier was attended by a page of the name of John Graham, well acquainted with the localities of Kincardine, who undertook to be their guide in the perilous attempt. When the moon had disappeared and darkness favoured them, Napier and his cousin issued from the castle, at a small postern, where they found the faithful page waiting for them with three horses. The whole party instantly mounted, and, passing quietly through the enemy's host, made their escape, and reached Montrose in safety, in the north. On the morning after their escape the castle was surrendered on capitulation, and thirty-five of the besieged were sent to the tolbooth of Edinburgh. But to satisfy the justice of the Covenant, General Middleton ordered the remaining twelve, of those who had surrendered, to be instantly shot at a post, and the castle to be burnt. Thus fell Montrose's castle of Kincardine, on the 16th of March 1646. As the Reverend David Dickson remarked,— " the work went bonnily on." *

* Their persecution extended beyond the grave. " Archibald Lord Napier, a nobleman for true worth and loyalty inferior to none in the land, having, in the year 1645, died in his Majesty's service at Fincastle in Athol, the Committee resolved to raise his bones, and pass a sentence of forfeiture thereupon." Guthrie adds, that they raised a process against the young Lord Napier to that effect, but were satisfied by the payment of 5000 merks. Their object was " to get moneys for us."

## CHAPTER XVIII.

HOW THE COVENANTERS COMPELLED CHARLES THE FIRST TO DRIVE HIS GOOD GENIUS AWAY.

DURING the bloody transactions narrated in last chapter, Montrose was occupied with his fruitless exertions to conciliate the impracticable Huntly. That nobleman had emerged from his lurking-place in Strathnaver, and, since the disaster at Philiphaugh, spoke in lofty terms of what he, Huntly, would now do for the King. But every motion from his Majesty's representative in Scotland, who was entitled, by virtue of that commission, to command what he invariably entreated as a favour, namely, the active co-operation of Huntly against Leslie and Middleton, was disdainfully rejected by the chief of the Gordons. Montrose, who to the impetuous spirit of a warrior added the temper of a philosopher, ceased not in his endeavours to conciliate this unreasonable rival. He sent to him, as those most likely to obtain a hearing, young Irving of Drum, the son-in-law of Huntly, and Lord Reay, whose house had been the asylum of the petted recluse. Their reception was such that Lord Reay, ashamed to return to Montrose, retired in heartless despair to his own home. But the young Laird of Drum returned to report the failure of the mission, and never forsook him to whom he owed his release from the dreary cell in which his gallant brother had died. Montrose then determined to try the effect of a personal expostulation.

Taking with him only a few attendants, he rode in the night-time to the Bog of Gight, where he arrived early in the morning, and surprised Huntly (who was a little alarmed, and not a little ashamed, at this apparition,) into a private conference. The gentle courteous forbearance of Montrose's manner, and his eloquent expostulation, seemed to effect what hitherto had been tried in vain. When Montrose rode back to his leaguer, it was in the firm belief that Huntly had banished every shade of jealousy from his mind, and would now effectually co-operate. "They seemed now," says Dr Wishart, "to be perfectly agreed in every thing, in so much that Lord Aboyne and his brother Lewis wished damnation to themselves if they did not from thenceforth continue firm and constant in their fidelity and attachment to Montrose all their lives; and all the Gordons were joyous beyond measure, and hailed their lord and chieftain as if they had recovered him from the dead." But scarcely had the sound of the departing footsteps of Montrose's charger died away, than the fiend of jealousy returned to the Bog of Gight, and its lord and master commenced, on the 14th of April 1646, an independent war, in virtue of his old commission, against the enemies of the King in Scotland. The result was, that Huntly took Aberdeen, and was almost immediately afterwards driven out again by General Middleton. This was the *alpha* and *omega* of his emulation of our hero's career, with whom he ever afterwards most pertinaciously avoided an interview.

Such was the distracted state of the King's affairs in Scotland, (where the separate armies of Leslie and Middleton were each far more than a match for the little band that yet rallied round the Standard,) when Charles

was virtually a prisoner at Oxford. That chrysalis, the Covenant, had been shuffled off by the "Independents," who were already fanning, with their bloody but ephemeral wings, the fortunes of "Old Noll." Five stormy years had passed since Montrose penned that epistle on the sovereign power, wherein he says,—"the kingdom shall fall again into the hands of *one*, who of necessity must, and for reasons of state will, tyrannize over you." Some awful scenes were yet to be enacted, but the prophecy was rapidly fulfilling. It was upon the 26th of March that Charles wrote to Lord Digby a letter in which he speaks of endeavouring to get to London, "being not without hope that I shall be able so to draw either the Presbyterians or the Independents to side with me, for extirpating one or the other, that I shall be really King again. Howsoever, I desire you to assure all my friends, that, if I cannot live as a King, I shall die like a gentleman, without doing that which may make honest men blush for me." Exactly one month afterwards the King made his escape, and by the 5th of May was in the Presbyterian camp. It is interesting to observe that the plan of his escape appears to have been derived from that adopted by Montrose, when he passed into Scotland two years before. Dr Hudson, personating a captain of the Parliament, and Ashburnam, both armed with pistols, were followed by Charles, wearing a Montero cap and carrying a cloak-bag, as Ashburnam's servant. The coincidence is rendered the more striking, that, on their journey, various wandering troopers tried the nerves of his Majesty by entering into inquisitive conversation with him, though none discovered his countenance. When he finally determined to place himself in the hands of the Scots, his mind was full of Montrose, upon whom his whole

hopes rested. A most interesting though melancholy memorandum, thus indorsed by the Secretary Nicholas,—" a note written with the King's own pen concerning his going to the Scots,"—is among the Evelyn papers: " Freedom in conscience and honour, and security for all those that shall come with me, and, in case I shall not agree with them, that I may be set down at such of my garrisons as I shall name to them; which condition I hope not to put them to, for I shall not differ with them about ecclesiastical businesses, (which they shall make appear to me not to be against my conscience,) and for other matters, I expect no difference, and in case there be, I am content to be judged by the two Queens. And before I take my journey, I must send to the Marquis of Montrose, to advertise him upon what conditions I come to the Scots' army, *that he may be admitted forthwith into our conjunction, and instantly march up to us.*" Alas! the King was going where conscience and honour were eschewed, and where, for that reason, the last man in the world who would be permitted to see him, far less to guard him, was the Marquis of Montrose. That curious character, Sir James Turner, alias Sir Dugald Dalgetty, was still with the covenanting army in England, though, it seems, his heart was teeming with loyalty. He affords a graphic view of this extraordinary scene: " In the summer of 1646, the King's fate driving him on to his near approaching end, he cast himself in the Scots' arms at Newark. There did Earl Lothian, as President of the Committee, to his eternal reproach, imperiously require his Majesty (before he had either drunk, refreshed, or reposed himself,) to command my Lord Bellasis to deliver up

Newark to the Parliament's forces, to sign the covenant, and to command James Graham,—for so he called Great Montrose,—to lay down arms; all which the King stoutly refused, telling him, that *he who had made him an Earl, had made James Graham a Marquis.*" This well merited rebuke, to him who so meanly remembered his own disgrace at Fyvie, was the last occasion when the hasty and haughty spirit of the Monarch burst from the lips of the Martyr. Turner adds: "Barbarously used he was, strong guards put upon him, and sentinels at all his windows, that he should cast over no letters; and at length Newark by his order being given up, he is carried with a very speedy march to Newcastle, where he was well enough guarded. At Sherburn I spoke with him, and his Majesty, having got some good character of me, bade me tell him the sense of our army concerning him. I did so, and withal assured him he was *a prisoner*, and therefore prayed him to think of his escape, offering him all the service I could do him. He seemed to be well pleased with my freedom, and the grief I had for his condition. But our conversation was interrupted very uncivilly (for I was in the room alone with his Majesty) by Lieutenant-General Leven's command, wherein he made use of two whom I will not name, because the one is dead, and I hope the other hath repented. Neither was I ever permitted afterward to speak with him. Yet he named me as one of five fitting to carry his commands to Montrose; but the Committee made choice of a man, by Lothian's persuasion, fitter for their purpose."

When the unhappy King, "hunted like a partridge on the mountains," had thus run into the toils of the Covenanters, they indeed became "lifted up out of mea-

sure." The Napier charter-chest contributes its illustration of this sad crisis. The following letter, addressed by Robert Napier of Culcreugh to his nephew, young Lord Napier, a few weeks after the King came into their hands, has not been printed before. *

"LOVING NEPHEW,

"As your rash and inconsiderate breaking out at first, to join with your uncle, bred great grief and anger to all your well affected † friends, so your continuing since in one course with him has mightily increased, and daily doth increase, our grief and sorrow. It is evil to fall away to a wrong course, but much worse

* Robert Napier of Culcreugh, Bowhopple, and Drumquhannie, was the second son of the Inventor of Logarithms' second marriage, and the full brother of the John mentioned before, p. 479, of whose "malignancy" there can be little doubt from the fact of his imprisonment. Robert Napier is distinguished as having been the favourite son and companion, the amanuensis, and the literary executor, of his illustrious father; and through this Robert, the lineal male representation of the "marvellous Merchiston," is now held, by Sir William Milliken Napier of Napier and Milliken, Bart. Robert of Culcreugh was, *inter alia*, deeply versant in the secrets of "the Green Lion's bed." In the Napier charter-chest is a Latin manuscript, in his hand-writing, dangerous to look upon or touch. It is entitled "A revelation of the mystery of the Golden Fleece," and the preface contains these awful words,—"Above all things, you my son, or whoever he be of my posterity who may chance to see and read this book, I adjure by the most holy Trinity, and under the pains of the curse of Heaven, not to make it public, nor to communicate it to a living soul, unless it be a child of the art, a good man fearing God, and one who will cherish the secret of Hermes under the deepest silence. But if thou dost otherwise,—accursed be thou! and, guilty before the throne of God, may"—but for the rest of this fearful *anathema maranatha*, the curious reader may consult the memoirs of Merchiston, page 237, where he will find more of this disciple of Hermes, under whose auspices was published the revelation of an humbler secret,—his father's secret method of constructing the logarithms. In the above more mundane letter will be recognized the same eloquent style of him who at once bowed to the Covenant, and worshipped the starry bed of the light-producing Green Lion.

† *i. e.* Covenanting friends, not including young Lord Napier's excellent father.

to persist and continue therein. The first may admit divers favourable constructions whereof the latter cannot be capable, and timeous repentance will be accepted where untimely is rejected. Opportunities once lost can hardly or never be recovered,—*fronte capillata est sed pòst occasio calva.* Now at this present time, by the King's incoming to us, by his recalling his commissions formerly granted to your uncle, and by commanding the laying down of arms, it is high time for you to resolve not to adhere any more to your uncle's courses and ways. Let not, I pray you, *the preposterous love you carry to him* any longer blind the eyes of your understanding, nor miscarry you. Consider, I entreat you, and I pray the Almighty to move your heart to consider, that upon this very nick of time depends the utter ruin or safety of yourself, of your house and estate, lady, children, and posterity, your nearest friends, and of all that by the link and tie of nature should be dearest to you. For certainly, if you continue longer in that evil course, your forfeiture will not be long delayed, your lady and children shall be reduced to extreme want, whereof they already feel the beginning, (your whole estate being already so cantoned, divided, and taken up, that neither have they their necessary maintenance off it, neither payeth it any of your father's debt,) neither shall your sister have any thing to maintain her, and we, your uncles, branches of your house, who are engaged cautioners for your father's debts, shall be undone in our estates, and, finally, your name and memory shall be made disgraceful to all posterity; and how oft any of your worthy predecessors shall be made mention of hereafter for their virtuous deeds, either in Kirk or Commonwealth, as oft shall your name come in remembrance and be spoken of with detesta-

tion, as an enemy to both,—a ruiner of an ancient and well deserving family—a blemish to the lustre of your ancestors—a destroyer of your own issue—the author of your lady and children's misery and calamity—the undoer of all the branches of your house—and a daily upcast and reproach to all who belong thereto. These are the sad effects which your *preposterous love in following your uncle* will produce. God of his mercy make you yet in time, ere all hope be lost, truly sensible of all these evils, and recal your mind from any longer following such dangerous and evil courses. You supposed and apprehended before that you stood for defence of the King! Now he leaves you—he commands you to lay down arms—he seeks none of your defence. For whom shall you now stand longer in arms? If you do, you become palpably and flatly both the King's enemy and the Country's, and so cannot avoid the rigorous censure of open rebellion. Take it to your heart, I pray you, in time, and pity yourself—pity your lady—pity your children and posterity—pity your friends—and pity the crying distresses of your poor tenants, who by the leaving of them are become a prey to all. Return yet in time, before all time be lost, and let the first beginning of your majority in age evidence better resolutions than did the ending of your minority; and suffer the one, as maturer and riper, to revoke and correct the errors of youth in the other. I know there are too many about you who, for their own ends, will labour to withhold you from any good resolution, desiring to have many partakers with them in their wicked ways,—*consolatio est miserorum habere pares*. But if you harbour the true fear of God in your heart, with a care to perform that duty you owe, in the station where God hath placed you, to those you have

nearest relation unto, you will easily reject all contrary suggestions. He that hath not a care of his family, saith the apostle, is worse than an infidel. What then may be thought of any who shall be the instruments to ruin and destroy his own family! The Almighty God withhold and keep you from being such an instrument, and give to you true wisdom from above, to embrace and follow the right, and not any longer to go astray after the evil grounded phantasies of men. It is the earnest desire of all your honourable friends here, and of all who wish you well, that you resolve quickly to leave the way you are into, and to set yourself to return to the favour of your country; and, to this effect, that you would be pleased to make your desire hereof known to your honourable friends here so soon as you can, so that they having certain knowledge of your intention, and inclination thereto, may thereafter use their best means for procuring such conditions as you may adventure upon to come home.* All which, praying the Almighty to prosper and bless, to the glory of his great name, to your weil, and to the comfort of us all, and so taking my leave, I recommend you to the protection of God omnipotent, and rests,—Your loving uncle, ready to serve you in all lawful duties,

"R. NAPIER of Culcreuch."

"*At Culcreuch the last of May.*" [1646.]

This eloquent appeal must have entirely lost its effect upon Lord Napier, for, on the very day when he of the Green Lion, the Golden Fleece, and the Covenant, was only in the act of penning it, namely, on the 31st of May 1646, the following letter from Charles I. indicating his Majesty's own version of "leaving them,

* *i. e.* From following Montrose in the north.

and seeking none of their defence," was put into the hands of Montrose.

"MONTROSE,

"I am *in such a condition* as is much fitter for relation than writing; wherefore I refer you to this trusty bearer, Robin Ker, for the reasons and manner of my coming to this army; as also, *what my treatment hath been since I came*, and my resolutions upon my whole business. This shall, therefore, only give you positive commands, and tell you real truths, leaving the *why* of all to this bearer. You must disband your forces, and go into France, where you shall receive my further directions. This at first may justly startle you, but I assure you that if, for the present, I should offer to do more for you, I could not do so much, and that you shall always find me your most assured, constant, real, and faithful friend,

"CHARLES R."*

"*Newcastle, May* 19, 1646."

It is manifest that Montrose, in reply, had written strongly on the subject of protecting the remnant of his followers from the fangs of the Kirk, while he at the same time expressed resignation, even under his own utter ruin, to the will of his Majesty. This is indicated by the King's second letter, dated a month later than his first.

* Wishart says that the first letter from the King to Montrose was delivered to him "*pridie Kal. Junii*," *i. e.* the last day of May. The letters themselves were only first printed, in the appendix to the translation of Wishart, edited by Mr Adams in 1720. It is a great pity that Montrose's part of the correspondence is not discovered. Nor am I aware that it is known where the King's original letters now are.

"MONTROSE,

"I assure you that I no less esteem your willingness to lay down arms at my command, for a gallant and real expression of your zeal and affection to my service, than any of your former actions. But I hope that you cannot have so mean an opinion of me, that for any particular or worldly respects I could suffer you to be ruined. No,—I avow that it is one of the greatest and truest marks of my present miseries that I cannot recompense you according to your deserts, but, on the contrary, must yet suffer a cloud of the misfortunes of the times to hang over you. Wherefore I must interprete those expressions, in your letter, concerning yourself, to have only relation to your own generosity. For you cannot but know that they are contrary to my unalterable resolutions, which, I assure you, I neither conceal nor mince, for there is no man who ever heard me speak of you that is ignorant that the reason which makes me at this time send you out of the country is, that you may return home with the greater glory, and, in the meantime, to have *as honourable an employment as I can put upon you.* This trusty bearer, Robin Ker, will tell you the care I have had of all your friends, and mine, to whom albeit I cannot promise such conditions as I would, yet they will be such as, all things considered, are most fit for them to accept. Wherefore I renew my former directions, of laying down arms, unto you; desiring you to let Huntly, Crawford, Airly, Seaforth,* and Ogilvy, know that want of time hath made me now omit to reiterate my former commands to them, intending that this shall serve for all, assuring them, and all the rest of my friends, that, whensoever

* Seaforth had of late openly joined Montrose, but it was when he could be of little use to him or the King.

God shall enable me, they shall reap the fruits of their loyalty and affection to my service. So I rest your most assured, constant, real, faithful friend,

"CHARLES R."

"*Newcastle*, 15*th June* 1646."

The King was now in the hands of covenanting Commissioners, the leaders of whom, Argyle, Lanerick, Lindsay, Loudon, and Balmerino, were the mortal enemies of Montrose. But it was only from his Sovereign that he would take his directions. This occasioned the letter which finally determined Montrose to capitulate, and to quit his country.

"MONTROSE,

"The most sensible part of my misfortunes is to see my friends in distress, and not to be able to help them. And of this you are the chief. Wherefore, according to that real freedom and friendship which is between us, as I cannot absolutely command you to accept of unhandsome conditions, so I must tell you that I believe your refusal will put you in a far worse estate than your compliance will. This is the reason that I have told this bearer, Robin Ker, and the Commissioners here, that I have commanded you to accept of Middleton's conditions, which really I judge to be your best course, according to this present time. For if this opportunity be let slip you must not expect any more treaties. In which case you must either conquer all Scotland, or be inevitably ruined. That you may make the clearer judgment what to do I have sent you here inclosed the Chancellor's answers to your demands. Whereupon if you find it fit to accept, you may justly say *I have commanded you ;* and if you take another course, you can-

not expect that I can publicly avow you in it, until I shall be able (which God knows how soon that will be) to stand upon my own feet; but, on the contrary, seem to be not well satisfied with your refusal, which I find clearly will bring all this army upon you,—and then I shall be in a very sad condition, such as I shall rather leave to your judgment than seek to express. However, you shall always find me to be your most assured, real, constant, faithful friend,

"CHARLES R."

"*Newcastle*, 16*th July* 1646."

"P. S.—Whatsoever you may otherwise hear, this is truly my sense, which I have ventured freely into you, without a cypher, because I conceive this to be *coup de partie*."

Immediately on the receipt of this letter, about the 22d of July, Montrose and Middleton arranged the terms of a cessation of arms, and the former invited the covenanting General to a private conference on the subject of the conditions of safety for the Royalists. They met accordingly, in the romantic manner our hero seems always to have conducted such conferences. Under the canopy of heaven, and on a plain by a river's side, *Scoticé* a haugh, they conferred together for two hours, each with but a single attendant to hold his horse. It was by the water of Isla, the same across which Montrose sent his gentlemanly challenge to Baillie, who so discourteously declined it. The conditions which Middleton offered, and Montrose accepted, were, that Montrose himself, Ludowick Earl of Crawford, and *Sir John Hurry*—for that fighting weathercock had lately attached himself to his conqueror—were to be secluded

from all pardon or favour, except safe transportation beyond sea, in a vessel provided by the Estates, upon condition of their setting sail before the first of September. Graham of Gorthy was to be restored from forfeiture, only in so far as regarded his person, because his estate had been given to Balcarres. All the rest of Montrose's friends and followers, forfeited or not, were to retain their lives and estates, in all respects as if they had not engaged with him. The Committee of the Kirk, greatly enraged at these comparatively humane conditions, declared them to be contrary to the Covenant, and, to mark their dissent, upon the 27th of July they thundered their excommunications against the Earl of Airly, the Grahams of Gorthy and Inchbrakie, Sir Allaster Macdonald, Stuart the Irish Adjutant, the tutor of Strowan, and the bailie of Athol. But Middleton, a gallant and honourable soldier, adhered to the conditions.

Montrose assembled the melancholy remains of his army, and of his staff, at Rattray, on the 30th of July, where he bade them farewell, and dismissed them in the name of the King. Those who had followed him to the last hour of his terrible campaigns, and were willing to follow him still, could not but feel the deepest sorrow and anxiety as they thus parted. Some fell on their knees, and with tears entreated that they might go with him wherever he went. Montrose's friends, at his own request, left him for the time, and each went a several way to put order to his involved affairs. A solitary man was now the chief of the Grahams. Not eighteen months had passed since Montrose wept over the grave of his gallant boy. In the short intervening period, the battle, the fatigues of the field, and the murderous axe of the Covenant, had dashed nearly every

gem from the shining circle of his friends. His stately castles of Mugdok and Kincardine were destroyed. With a heart wrung, but a spirit unbroken, he now bent his course to his pillaged house of Old Montrose, to prepare for his exile. And the only companion of his way, at this moment, was, of all men in the world, the tearing dragoon who had carried off Lord Graham and his pedagogue from the town of Montrose—Sir John Hurry!

Montrose soon discovered that it was the design of the Covenanters to break faith with him, and either to seize him in Scotland, on the pretext that he had allowed the time of his departure to expire, or to make him their prey by means of some English men of war, stationed for that purpose off the mouth of the Esk. The vessel promised by the Estates made its appearance, in the harbour of Montrose, upon the last day of August, the utmost limit of his stay. The commander of the vessel declared he could not be ready to put to sea for several days. He was a rigid and violent Covenanter. The sailors had been carefully selected of the same stamp—sullen and morose,—

"Oh cruel was the Captain, and cruel was the Crew." *

Montrose at once detected in all this the horns of the Covenant—the cloven-foot of Argyle. So, with his usual energetic and adventurous spirit, he provided for his own safety. In the harbour of Stonehaven he discovered a small pinnace belonging to Bergen in Norway, the master of which was easily bribed to be ready for sea by the day appointed. Thither Montrose sent Sir John Hurry, young Drummond of

* Dr Wishart has it,—"*Navarchus, non modo ignotus, sed et conjuratorum propugnator rudis, ac pertinax; nautæ, militesque ejusdem, farinæ homines, infusi, morosi, ac minabundi.*"

Balloch, Henry Graham, John Spotiswood, (the nephew of the President,) John Lilly, and Patrick Melville, both officers of courage and experience, his celebrated chaplain Dr Wishart, David Guthry, whom the Doctor calls a very brave and gallant gentleman, Pardus Lasound, (a Frenchman, who had been Lord Gordon's servant, and ever since his death retained by Montrose,) a German boy of the name of Rodolph, distinguished for his fidelity and honesty, with several trusty domestic servants. These set sail for Norway on the 3d of September. That same evening, Montrose, disguised in a coarse habit, and passing for the servant of the Reverend James Wood,* a very worthy clergyman who was his sole companion, reached, by means of a small fly-boat, a wherry that lay at anchor without the port of Montrose. Thus he escaped in the year 1646, and of his age thirty-four. †

* Not of Dr Wishart, as Sir Walter Scott, and others, have it.

† On the 30th of October, after Montrose's departure, Archibald Johnston, the "minion of the Kirk," succeeded Sir Thomas Hope as "his Majesty's Advocate for his Majesty's interest"! On the 28th of January thereafter the infamous transaction was consummated from which the King and the Scottish nation would unquestionably have been saved, had the influence of Montrose, and not of Argyle and the Kirk prevailed.

"Traitor Scot
Sold his King for a groat."

The following curious document, signed by the worthy mentioned before, p. 453, is in the Napier charter-chest:

"Edinburgh, 23d October 1646. The Committee of Estates declares that the Lord Napier his accidentally meeting with the late Earl of Montrose, his uncle, abroad out of the country, shall not infer a contravention of his act, provided he converse not with the said late Earl.—*Extractum* Arch. Primerose, *Cler.*"

On the 2d of March thereafter Napier executed a deed of commission for the management of his affairs at home, and immediately joined Montrose. Montrose's son remained in the hands of the Covenanters.

## CHAPTER XIX.

MONTROSE IN EXILE—THE ENGAGEMENT—THE DEATH OF THE KING.

When Montrose had passed from Norway into Flanders, on his way to France, Charles the First, a few days before the faction of Argyle sold him, wrote his last and most affecting communication to the devoted hero :

" Montrose,

" Having no cypher with you, I think not fit to write but what I care not though all the world read it. First, then, I congratulate your coming to the Low Countries, hoping, before this, that ye are safely arrived at Paris. Next, I refer you to this trusty bearer for the knowledge of my present condition, which is such, as all the directions I am able to give you is, to desire you to dispose of yourself as my wife shall advise you, knowing that she truly esteems your worth, for *she is mine*, and I,—am your most assured, real, faithful, constant friend, " Charles R."

" *Newcastle, Jan.* 21, 1646–7." *

* Upon the 15th of March thereafter, the Queen writes a letter in French, (printed in the appendices to the translations of Wishart,) also congratulating Montrose on his arrival in Holland, and gratefully expressing her sense of his services. Her Majesty, however, refers him to the bearer, Ashburnham, " to speak more particularly with you of something that concerns the King's service." This corroborates Dr Wishart's account, who says that Charles intended Montrose to go abroad as ambassador extraordinary to the King of France, and that

It is much to be regretted that the early part of Lord Napier's correspondence, from abroad, with his Lady in Scotland, is not now to be found. A single letter, dated from Brussels, 14th June 1648, about a twelvemonth after his departure, and which refers to others previously written, is all that has been preserved. While the world has been favoured with such revolting pictures of Montrose as we find in the pages of Mr Brodie and Lord Nugent, the following letter, containing details of his history hitherto unknown, has remained, unprinted and untranscribed, in the Napier charter-chest.

"My dearest heart,

"I did forbear these two months to write unto you, till I should hear from my Lord Montrose, that I might have done it for good and all. But fearing that may take some time, I resolved to give you an account of all my Lord's proceedings, and the reasons which did invite me to come to this place

Montrose was led to expect that he would receive his commission and instructions in Paris from the Queen. But when he came there, hearing nothing on the subject, he asked her Majesty, in what manner he could best serve his Sovereign, and that "the Queen answered with a heavy heart, without explaining herself sufficiently on that head." Wishart also explains the ambiguity. The Queen's minion, Lord Jermyn, finding his influence at the Court of France likely to be superseded, was intriguing to persuade Montrose to return directly to Scotland, and, though without men, money, arms, or provisions of any kind, to attempt to renew the war with the object of saving the King from those to whom he had been sold. Montrose, though he saw their drift, repeatedly offered to make a descent upon Britain, if they would furnish him with ten thousand men, and six thousand pistoles. But this was not the object of the ravenous courtiers. Montrose, in personal interviews with the Queen, ardently and eloquently exerted himself to save her from the machinations of the Presbyterian and Hamilton faction, and having done so without success, retired from Paris.

" Montrose then (as you did hear) was in treaty with the French, who, in my opinion, did offer him very honourable conditions, which were these : First, that he should be General to the Scots in France, and Lieutenant-General to the Royal Army, when he joined with them, commanding all Mareschals of the field. As likewise to be Captain of the Gens-d'armes, with twelve thousand crowns a year of pension, besides his pay ; and assurance the next year to be Mareschal of France, and Captain of the King's own Guard, which is a place bought and sold at a hundred and fifty thousand crowns. But these two last places were not insert amongst his other conditions, only promised him by the Cardinal Mazarine ; but the others were all articles of their capitulation, which I did see in writing, and used all the inducements and persuasion I could to make him embrace them. He seemed to hearken unto me, which caused me at that time to show you that I hoped shortly to acquaint you with things of more certainty, and to better purpose, than I had done formerly. But while I was thus in hope and daily expectation of his present agreement with them, he did receive advertisements from Germany, that he would be welcome to the Emperor. Upon which he took occasion to send for me, and began to quarrel with the conditions were offered him, and (said) that any employment below a Mareschal of France was inferior to him, and that the French had become enemies to our King, and did labour still to foment the differences betwixt him and his subjects,—that he might not be capable to assist the Spaniard, whom they thought he was extremely inclined to favour, and that if he did engage with them he would be forced to connive and wink at his Prince's ruin ; and for these reasons, he would let the treaty

desert, and go into Germany, where he would be honourably appointed; which sudden resolution did extremely trouble and astonish me. I was very desirous he should settle in France, and did use again all the arguments I could to make him embrace such profitable conditions, for, if he had been once in charge, I am confident, in a very short time he should have been one of the most considerable strangers in Europe; for, believe it, they had a huge esteem of him, for some eminent persons there came to see him, who refused to make the first visit to the Embassadors Extraordinary of Denmark and Sweden,—yet did not stand to salute him first, with all the respect that could be imagined.

"But to the purpose. He, seeing me a little ill satisfied with the course he was going to take, did begin to dispute the matter with me, and, I confess, convinced me so with reason, that I rested content, and was desirous he should execute his resolution with all imaginable speed; and did agree that I should stay at my exercises in Paris, till the end of the month, and go often to Court, make visits, and ever in public places, at comedies, and such things, still letting the word go that my uncle was gone to the country for his health, which was always believed so long as they saw me, for it was ever said that *Montrose and his nephew were like the Pope and the Church, who would be inseparable.* Whereas if I had gone away with him, and left my exercises abruptly, in the middle of the month, his course would have been presently discovered; for how soon I had been missed, they would instantly have judged me to be gone somewhere with him, then search had been made every where, and if he had been taken going to any of the House of Austria who were their enemies, you may think they would have staid him, which might have been dangerous both to his person, credit,

and fortune. So there was no way to keep his course close, but to me to stay behind him at my exercises, (as I had done for a long time before,) till I should hear he were out of all hazard, which I did, according to all the instructions he gave me.

"The first letter I received from him was dated from Geneva. So when I perceived he was out of French ground, I resolved to come here to Flanders, where I might have freedom of correspondence with him, as also liberty to go to him when it pleased him to send for me, which I could not do conveniently in France. For I was afraid how soon his course should chance to be discovered, that they might seek assurance of me and others not to engage with their enemy, which is ordinary in such cases. Yet would I never have given them any, but thought best to prevene it. And beside I had been at so great a charge for a month after his way-going, with staying at Court, and keeping of a coach there, which I hired, and coming back to Paris, and living at a greater rate than I did formerly, (all which was his desire, yet did consume much moneys,) and fearing to be short, (I) did resolve rather to come here and live privately, than to live in a more inferior way in France than I had done formerly. So these gentlemen which belonged to my Lord, hearing of my intention, would, by any means, go along, and (we) went all together to Haver-de-grace, where we took ship for Middleburgh, and from thence came here, where we are daily expecting Montrose's commands; which, how soon I receive them, you shall be advertised by him who intreats you to believe that he shall study most carefully to conserve the quality, he has hitherto inviolably kept, of continuing,—My dearest life, only your's,

"*Bruxelles, June* 14, 1648." "NAPIER."

My heart,

"I received letters from you that came by France, where you desire to know if I have taken on any debt in France, as my friends did conceive; which answer I do yet give you, that my fortune, nor no friend, shall ever be troubled with the charge of any thing I did spend there. At my parting from France there went in my company above fifteen that did belong to my Lord Montrose, amongst which was Mons. Hay, Kinnoul's brother, and several others of good quality, and were forced to lie long at Rouen and Haver for passage, so that our journey to Bruxelles was above a thousand francs; and now we have been near six weeks into it, which has consumed both my moneys and theirs; but we expect letters from Montrose shortly, and bills of exchange, till which time we intend to go out of this place,—and, or [ere] I be very troublesome to you I shall live upon one meal a-day. I have been most civilly used in this town by many of good quality, and was the last day invited by the Jesuits to their College, where I received handsome entertainment; and after long discourse (they) told me that if I liked, the King of Spain should maintain me. But I showed them that I would not live by any King of Christendom's charity. They said it was no charity, for many of eminent places received allowance from him. I told them, if I did him service, what he bestowed upon me then I might justly take it; but to be a burden to him otherwise, I would never do it. But I know their main end was to try if they could persuade me to turn Catholic; but I shall, God willing, resist all their assaults, as well as their fellows who plied me so hard in Paris. Another reason why I would remove from this town is, that I received advertisement, both from Paris and the Court of

St Germains, that it was resolved the Prince of Wales * should go to Scotland, and had already received his pass from the Archduke Leopold to go by Bruxelles to Holland, where he was to take ship; so, hearing of the Prince's coming here, and knowing the undeserved favourable opinion he had of me, which he often and publicly professed, made me fear he should desire me to go with him to Scotland; which you know I would not do, for I was not assured that *they would keep truth;* and to refuse the Prince, who is my master, and to whom I am so infinitely obliged, would give ground to some of my uncle's unfriends to say hereafter that I refused to hazard with the Prince, or take one fortune with him. So I resolve to shift myself timeously from this place, and shun such a business, that would give enemies advantage. But if it were not for my credit, which would suffer by my coming to Scotland, and though I were not commanded by the Prince, I would go six times as far elsewhere, through all dangers imaginable, only to see you. I confess I have satisfaction in nothing whilst we live at such distance, for though I should enjoy all those things which others do esteem felicities, yet if I do not enjoy your company they are rather crosses than pleasures to me; and I should be more contented to live with you meanly, in the deserts of Arabia, than [without you] in the most fruitful place in the world, plentifully, and with all the delights it could afford. You may possibly think these *compliments*, as you showed me once before, when I wrote kindly to you. But, God knows, they flow from a real and ingenuous heart. And if it had not been for waiting on Montrose, (which I hope I shall have no reason to repent, for he hath sworn often to prefer my weal to his own,) I might before this

* Charles II.

time have settled somewhere; for, just before my parting from Paris, I received letters from some friends, at Madrid in Spain, that, if I pleased, I should have a commission for a regiment, and ten pistoles of levy-moneys for every man, which was a good condition, for I could have gained at least forty thousand merks, upon the levying of those men. But I hope my uncle will provide no worse for me. The reason why I am so impatient to engage is, to have your company, for I am sure you will not refuse to come to me when you hear I am able honourably to maintain you. I pray you do not show this letter except to very confident friends, and that which is written after my subscription to none. —Lord be with you.

"Be pleased, dear heart, to let me have one thing which I did almost forget—your picture, in the breadth of a sixpence,—without a case, for they may be had better and handsomer here,—and I will wear it upon a ribbon under my doublet, so long as it, or I, lasts.

"I cannot express how much I am obliged to Sir Patrick Drummond and his lady, at Camphire; the particulars you shall know with the first occasion.

"Send your picture as I desire it,—the other is so big as I cannot wear it about me. Montrose, at his way-going, gave me his picture, which I caused put in a gold case of the same bigness I desire your's."

This interesting letter affords precisely the details of Montrose's reception and movements abroad, during the interval betwixt his departure and the death of the King, that are not to be met with elsewhere. The facts not mentioned by Lord Napier, or the motives left unexplained, are to be found in Wishart. He tells us, that Montrose, thoroughly understanding the drift

of the Presbyterian faction of the Hamiltons, whose deceitful councils once more swayed both the King and Queen, having long predicted the ruin that had arrived, and foreseeing that which was to come, retired with a sorrowful heart when he found that his own councils were again disregarded. He quitted France without the Queen's knowledge, but left in writing the reasons of his departure, and begged that her Majesty would pardon his absence, and put upon it the best construction. He arrived at Geneva in the beginning of April, and travelled through Switzerland, Tyrol, Bavaria, and Austria. Not finding the Emperor at Vienna, he followed him to Prague, where his Imperial Majesty most graciously received him, bestowed upon him the patent of a Mareschal, and honoured him with every mark of consideration. The object of Montrose was not his own aggrandizement in foreign service,—it was still to save Charles the First from impending ruin. Therefore he had rejected the brilliant offers of France, and the reasons which silenced and satisfied his nephew were, that Montrose intended to make interest with the Emperor to be commissioned to raise levies, and to be employed in those quarters from whence he could most readily and effectually assist his own King. His negociation was completely successful. He was invested with the command, immediately under the Emperor himself, of levies he was commissioned to raise on the borders of Flanders, the quarter where he desired to be, and at the same time he obtained from the Emperor letters of recommendation to his brother Leopold, Archduke of Austria, Governor of the Spanish Netherlands. Thus accredited, Montrose, in order to avoid the hostile armies in his way, proceeded by a circuitous route to Flanders. From Vienna he

went by the way of Presburg to Hungary, and so through Polland and Prussia to Dantzic, where he embarked for Denmark, and spent some time with his Danish Majesty, being received at that court, and wherever he paused on his journey, as a person of the highest distinction. From Denmark he passed into Jutland, where he embarked for Groningen in Friesland, whence he proceeded, through Brussels, to the Archduke Leopold at Tournay, not long after the latter had sustained his bloody defeat from the Prince of Conde at Lens, which disaster happened to him on the 20th of August 1648. Having spent some little time with the discomfited Leopold, Montrose rejoined his nephew and friends at Brussels, where he very soon received the most flattering letter from the Prince of Wales, then at the Hague, with his commands to join His Royal Highness and Prince Rupert there.

We must now glance for a moment at the state of Scotland. When Montrose's laurels were blighted at Philiphaugh, Huntly, as we have seen, affected to take up the championship for Charles, and promised to accomplish that in which Montrose had failed. Just three months after Montrose left Scotland, Huntly was seized in the north by one Colonel Menzies, and delivered into the hands of the Committee of Estates, who very soon doomed him to death. The sum that had been offered for him dead or alive, twelve thousand pounds Scots, was immediately paid to Menzies, and the leading signatures, to the order for the blood-money of the Royal Lieutenant be-north the Grampians, are those of his own brother-in-law, Argyle, and the King's minion, Hamilton! It was left for these two to play Cæsar and Pompey in Scotland. Hamilton now took up the

championship for Charles, but, at the same time, playing a double game betwixt the Royalists and the Covenanters. We left him at Pendennis, where he remained during Montrose's career of victory. Clarendon affords a most characteristic portrait of him there, intriguing for his release with the Chancellor, who had been sent to visit that stronghold. He pretended the highest admiration of Montrose, and the utmost anxiety to co-operate with him for the King. "He said," says Clarendon, "he too well understood his own danger, if the King and Monarchy were destroyed in this kingdom, to think of private contention and matters of revenge when the public was so much at stake; and, he must acknowledge, how unjust soever the Lord Montrose had been to him, he had done the King great service; and therefore protested, with many asseverations, he should join with him in the King's behalf, as with a brother, and if he could not win his own brother from the other party, he would be as much against him." These cunning speeches were unsuccessful, and Hamilton remained a prisoner until released by the army of the Parliament, shortly before the King placed himself in the hands of the Scots. He then resumed his place as a leading statesman in those nefarious councils. His conduct upon this occasion was in keeping with the whole tenor of his life. To save appearances, he and his brother protested against the sale of the King, but their whole party voted for it, and Hamilton received thirty thousand pounds as his own share of the price of his Sovereign, the great proportion of what remained being shared among Argyle and his friends, Archibald Johnston, and the rabid of the Presbyterian clergy. These last com-

posed the party of which Argyle was the head. It is no exaggerated characteristic of that party to say it was composed of such as would treacherously commit murder, at the same time crying 'Lord, Lord!' The other party, called the moderate Presbyterians, were of a more anomalous and indescribable character. They professed to sustain the Covenant as well as to restore the King, but their principles and ultimate object were as undefined and ambiguous as the character of their leader, Hamilton. Such Royalists as Montrose, and the few who deserved to be reckoned of his purer party, detected, in the competition of the other two, the broad feature of a struggle betwixt "the snake in the grass," and "the serpent in the bosom." Hamilton's party prevailed in Parliament, and the result was the *Engagement*, that miserable exploit engendered betwixt his jealousy of Montrose and his rivalry of Argyle, and feebly nursed into momentary animation by a sickly and equivocal affection for his sovereign. In the passing of an act he found himself at the head of a loyally professing army, composed of thirty thousand foot and eight thousand five hundred horse and dragoons, with the veterans, Calendar, Middleton, and Baillie for his Generals. But Argyle had Cromwell for his colleague. The result is notorious history. That numerous and well appointed army, the greatest Scotland ever raised, was, in the hands of Hamilton, infinitely less terrible than the few half-naked and unarmed caterans with whom Montrose first descended from the mountains. The army of the Engagement had no sooner crossed the Borders than, without a blow struck, and with a loss to Cromwell of not a hundred men, it was captured, in

thousands and tens of thousands together. Hamilton himself was made prisoner at the head of three thousand cavalry, a force with which Montrose would have cut his way through England. And so *ambiguously* did he, who was full of "continual discourse of battles under the King of Sweden," surrender, that to this hour it is not very well known whether he surrendered to the country troops, the Lord Gray of Groby, or some of Lambert's colonels sent to capitulate with him. So ended Hamilton's emulation of Montrose, and competition with Argyle.

This state of affairs in Scotland was speedily consummated by the murder of Charles the First. Dr Wishart thus minutely records the effect of the intelligence upon Montrose, to whom we now return.

"Montrose, being certainly informed of the Prince's sentiments, and of his confidence in him, after taking his leave of the Archduke, was prepared to set out for the Hague, when he received the doleful news of the King's being murdered by the English Independents. Good God! what horror seized him at the first, and as yet uncertain, reports of the death of this excellent King, for whom he had always the most sincere regard. But when the accounts of this barbarous parricide were confirmed, and there remained no more room to doubt the truth of it, his indignation was then heightened into fury, and his grief quite overwhelmed him, so that he fainted, and fell down in the midst of his attendants, all the members of his body becoming stiff, as if he had been quite dead. At length, when he recovered, after many sighs and groans, he broke out into these words: 'We ought not any longer to live—we ought to die with our excellent Sovereign! God, who has the power of life and death, is my witness, that henceforth this

life will be a grievous and uneasy burden, in which I can enjoy no pleasure.' I, who write this history, happened to be one of those present; and though I was inexpressibly afflicted, and hardly able to support my own grief, yet I endeavoured to comfort and encourage him, and thus addressed him: 'Die, my Lord? No! It is now your business, who are so justly famed for your bravery, it is now the business of all resolute good men, to be rather more desirous of life, and to summon up all their courage, that, by engaging in a just war, they may avenge the death of their Royal master, upon these base and inhuman parricides, and endeavour to settle the Prince, his son and lawful successor, upon the throne of his ancestors. These are the funeral obsequies which are due to our deceased Sovereign. This conduct will be more answerable to your distinguished loyalty, constancy, and resolution, than weakly to despond and sink, which would only be to complete the triumph of our wicked enemies.' He heard me patiently, in his usual complacent manner. But, at the mention of avenging the King's murder, the very thoughts of which gave him new life, he revived from his former disorder, and, being somewhat more composed, he replied,—'In that view alone I am satisfied to live. But I swear before God, angels, and men, that I will dedicate the remainder of my life to the avenging the death of the Royal martyr, and re-establishing his son upon his father's throne.' Having spoke these words, he withdrew to the most retired apartment of the house, where he indulged his grief for two days, without allowing any mortal to speak to him, or even to see him. At length, upon the third day, I was indulged with admittance to his bed-chamber, and there found that short but elegant poem which he had composed in the

interval, to the memory of the King. For he was a man of an excellent genius, and, when he had any spare time from public business, used to divert himself with poetical compositions, in which he succeeded very happily. This is wrote by way of vow, and fully expresses the unalterable determination of his mind. I have turned it into Latin as I could. I do not pretend to have caught the fire and spirit of the original, but if I have retained the sense and meaning of the noble author, it may perhaps be no unacceptable present to such as are acquainted with the English language."*

The original lines have been preserved to us in the manuscript of Bishop Guthrie, and with them we conclude the last chapter but one of Montrose's life.

Great, Good, and Just, could I but rate
My grief, and thy too rigid fate,
I'd weep the world in such a strain
As it should deluge once again:
But since thy loud-tongued blood demands supplies
More from Briareus' hands than Argus' eyes,
I'll sing thine obsequies with trumpet sounds,
And write thine epitaph in blood and wounds.

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* Dr Wishart's elegant Latin translation is as follows:

Carole! si possem lacrymis æquare dolorem,
Ipse meum fatumque tuum, tua funera, flerem,
Ut tellus nitidis rursum stagnaret ab undis:
Sanguis at ille tuus quum vocem ad sidera tollat,
Atque manus Briarei mage quam Argi lumina poscat,
Exequias celebrabo tuas clangore tubarum,
Et tumulo inscribam profuso sanguine carmen.

It may be doubted if the "accomplished Baillie," with all his command of tongues, could have produced such a translation.

## CHAPTER XX.

THE LAST CHAPTER OF MONTROSE'S LIFE—THE HEART OF MONTROSE—CONCLUSION.

THE occurrences of a few months seemed to have left Argyle indeed King in Scotland, except that he had picked up a dangerous rival in his new colleague Cromwell, who was destined to win the race of anarchy, and be the "one" predicted by Montrose. Hamilton had the good fortune to die for his loyalty, and that before the death of his master who loved him too well. He was executed in March 1648, and the fortitude of his death, in a cause which up to the eleventh hour he had betrayed, is the solitary redeeming circumstance of his public life. Huntly ascended the scaffold in March 1649. On the eve of his execution intelligence reached him of the death of Aboyne in Paris, who died of the shock he received on learning the fate of his Sovereign. Thus, ere Huntly expired, he saw his successor in the wild Lord Lewis, who had stolen his jewels. "Little Will Murray of the Bedchamber," now in the sear and yellow leaf, was Argyle's principal tool abroad. Lord Byron, in a letter to Ormonde, dated 30th March 1649, gives us a view of the party at the Hague. He tells the Marquis that he found the Queen almost in danger of her life, from excess of grief and melancholy, and most anxious that the King, her son, should pass into Ireland. "With these instructions," adds Byron, "I came to the Hague about ten

days since, where, not long before, the Earl of Lanerick, now Duke Hamilton, was arrived. There I found likewise the Marquis of Montrose, the Earls of Lauderdale, Calendar, and Seaforth, the Lords St Clair and Napier, and old William Murray. These, though all of one nation, are subdivided into four several factions. The Marquis of Montrose, with the Lords St Clair and Napier, are very earnest for the King's going into Ireland. All the rest oppose it, though in several ways. I find Duke Hamilton very moderate, and certainly he would be much more were it not for the violence of Lauderdale, *who haunts him like a fury*. Calendar and Seaforth have a faction apart; and so hath William Murray, employed here by Argyle."

This refers to the period when the covenanting Commissioners were daily expected from Scotland to treat with Charles II. Among the advices from the Hague, enclosed by Sir Edward Nicholas to the Marquis of Ormonde, occurs the following of the same date as the above extract: "The Commissioners, that have been so long expected by some from Scotland are not yet come, and we look for no greater matter from thence. These Lords that are here already, Lanerick and Lauderdale, (who were fain to fly for their *moderation*) abating not an ace of their damned Covenant in all their discourses; and why we should be so fond as to expect any thing but mischief from the rest, I know not. The Marquis of Montrose is likewise here, and of clean another temper, abhorring even the most moderate party of his countrymen; and it is the opinion and wishes of all men, that his Majesty would employ him, as the man of the *clearest honour*, courage, and affection to his service." Montrose was unquestionably right in his estimate of the Scotch councillors who represented these

different shades of covenanting politics. They, too, affected to talk of " the cruel murder of our master, and the horrid resolutions now taken at London for the destruction both of Religion and Monarchy." But Montrose had long seen, that the loyally-professing Covenant was as the manure to the growth of the Independents; and, betwixt the latter and those who pressed that Covenant against Episcopacy, his penetration saw that there was no broader distinction than what the accomplished Salmasius so well expressed, when he said, that the Presbyterians held down the King while the Independents cut his throat.

It was early in April 1649, that the Scotch commissioners arrived at the Hague. They proved to be the creatures of Argyle. The spokesman on the part of the Parliament was the Earl of Cassilis, and for the Kirk there appeared the Reverend Robert Baillie. Their two first propositions, says the correspondent of Sir Edward Nicholas, were, " that his Majesty should abandon the Marquis of Montrose, as a man unworthy to come near his person, or *into the society of any good men*, because he is excommunicated by their Kirk. The other, that his Majesty would take the Covenant, and put himself into the arms (so they term it) of the Parliament and Kirk of Scotland. And by these you may easily imagine the civility of the subsequent, and I need not tell you what cold reception they have found here." The pretended *juste milieu*, Lanerick and Lauderdale, concurred heartily as to the preliminary, the disgrace or ruin of Montrose, although the condition was manifestly dictated by that " spleen to the persons of men, rather than the service of the King, and the good of the State," which Lord Napier tells us, characterized faction at the commencement of the reign of

Charles I. With unprincipled impudence they refused to remain in the same room with Montrose, even in the presence of the King.* That Montrose was the enthusiast, *par excellence*, in that cause, is praise of which no one would seek to deprive him. In that last expedition, the forlorn hope of the Monarchy of England, he was indeed self-devoted. But the Ormonde papers contain abundance of proof, that the honourable though fatal attempt was not the mere ebullition of Quixotic rashness, or wrong-headedness on his part. It is there mentioned, that about the end of the year 1649, a ship came over from Orkney to Denmark, bringing "Sir James Douglas, my Lord Morton's brother, and one Major Melvin, with many gentlemen of quality from all places of the kingdom, who in the name of the whole kingdom did intreat and press Montrose, earnestly to go to Scotland, and not stay for all his men, (who might follow,) for his own presence was able to do the business, and would undoubtedly bring twenty thousand together for the King's service; all men being weary and impatient to live any longer under that bondage, pressing down their estates, their persons, and their consciences." But the following letter is of itself a sufficient excuse, if excuse it require, for the last expedition of Montrose.

* Clarendon also mentions, that "a learned and worthy divine, Dr Wishart, who was then chaplain to a Scottish regiment in the service of the Estates, being appointed to preach before the King on the Sunday following, they (Hamilton Lauderdale, &c.) formally besought the King that he would not suffer him to preach before him, nor to come into his presence, because he stood excommunicated by the Kirk of Scotland for having refused to take the Covenant." The King marked his displeasure at their insolence, "by using the Marquis of Montrose with the more countenance, and hearing the Doctor preach with the more attention."

"My Lord,

"I entreat you to go on vigorously, and with your wonted courage and care in the prosecution of those trusts I have committed to you, and not to be startled with any reports you may hear, as if I were otherwise inclined to the Presbyterians than when I left you. I assure you I am upon the same principles I was, and depend as much as ever upon your undertakings and endeavours for my service, being fully resolved to assist and support you therein to the uttermost of my power, as you shall find in effect when you shall desire any thing to be done by your affectionate friend,

"Charles R."

"*St. Germains, Sepr.* 19*th* 1649."

The two next documents we have to quote are from the unprinted originals in the Napier charter-chest. The following is the only letter of the celebrated Dr Wishart's, which, to my knowledge, exists.

"*For my Lord Napier, at Hamburg.*"

"My Lord, *Shiedame,* 1*st Jan.* 1650.

"I have little or nothing to write that is worthy of the pains, excepting only to praise Almighty God, and congratulate with you these gracious hopes which we are persuaded to conceive from your negotiations in these places. O, the God of armies, and giver of victory, bless the same to the end. Yet could I not suffer the opportunity of such a bearer escape me, that I should not at least testify my good will and zeal towards your Lordship, at least wise, by this paper visit. Our great ones, Duke Hamilton, Lauderdale, Dunfermline, Calendar, Sinclair, &c., are all at the Hague, and at the present so darned that we hear but

little of their din. It is thought that their new band had so small acceptance in Scotland that they almost repent the moving of it. All their present hopes are of Wondrum's treaty, * and offers to the King, which they magnify as very great, glorious, and advantageous to his Majesty, seeing he may by them get present possession of that whole kingdom, at so easy a rate as the forsaking of one man, who, as a bloody excommunicated rebel, is so odious to all men, that the King cannot be so demented, and bewitched, as to prefer him to the present enjoyment of the affections and services of a whole nation of most true and loyal subjects. Such are the charms, whereby these old wizzards go about still to fascinate the world, abroad and at home. And yet the two last named professed as much good will to my Lord of Montrose as can be wished, and do openly swear and avouche that they had never any art or part in that foresaid band. Branford, I believe, not only would be glad of employment with his Excellence, but is very much grieved that he thinks himself slighted and neglected by him. Sir William Fleming came this way from Jersy, and went straight to Scotland. I pray God all be sound that way. I have not been so happy as to see Mr Aitoun, who hath been this long time in these provinces. But I doubt not that he hath given full information, of all that he can, to his Excellence, by his own pen. My Colonel had been upon his journey before now, but that the Prince of Orange took him with his Highness in a progress that he is making towards Guelderland. I know he will make the speedi-

* "Mr George Winrame of Libertone, one of the Senators of the College of Justice, who was sent to Jersey to the King, in November 1649, with letters from the Committee of Estates, came home in a waighter, and arrived at Leith, on Saturday the 2d of February 1650."—*Balfour.*

est return that may be. News from Ireland are still so various, uncertain, and contradictory, that I neither can nor dare command my pen to write any thing. Last week we had no letters at all from London, and by the latest we were informed that no man living landed, in any place of England, from Ireland, who was not searched to the very skin,—clothes, and shoes, and boots, and all, ript up for letters. Whereby it came to pass, that they have no more certainty of affairs from thence, at London, than we have.

" The Lorrainer's forces have been this three weeks close upon the skirts and borders of the lands belonging to the Estates. Its said that Lamboy is not far from them with his army, that Lorrain is thanked off by the Spaniard, and taken on by the Emperor, who is thought to have a purpose to demand, of the Estates United, such Imperial towns as they detain and possess from him. The Estates do not take the alarm very hot, only they have sent some troops and companies to strengthen their garrisons toward these quarters. Nay, the provincial Estates of Holland will needs (in spite of any opposition of the Estates' General, and his Highness,) casheer ane 109 companies of foot, all of strange nations, French, English, and Scots, and most part of the cavalry, and reduce yet more those that remain. It is thought all this is intended to clip his Highness's wings, and that they are stirred up to it by the English rebels, who promise them, upon a call, more men than they shall stand in need of. Certain it is that there's strait correspondence, and good intelligence betwixt them. If your Lordship and noble company be in good estate, and will comfort me with the knowledge of the same, I shall at this time demand

no more from thence, but, fervently praying for the same, shall rest,—My Lord,

" Your Lordship's most humble and devout Chaplain,

" G. Wiseheart."

" *For the Lord Neper.*

" My Lord Neper, as I have ever been confident of your great affection to my service, so I am much confirmed in the opinion of it by the letter I lately received from you. I pray continue your assistances to the Marquis of Montrose, which your being with him will much the more enable you to do; and therefore I am well pleased with your repair to him, and very sensible of your good endeavours for my service, which I shall ever acknowledge as, your very affectionate friend,

" Charles R."

" *Breda, the* 15*th of April* 1650." *

* The date of this letter, now first produced from the Napier charter-chest, is important. Montrose had by this time made his descent upon Scotland. About a fortnight afterwards occurred his defeat at Corbiesdale. On the third day after Montrose's execution the following scene occurred in Argyle's Parliament, as noted at the time by the Lord Lyon. " Saturday, 25th May. A letter from the King's Majesty to the Parliament, dated from Breda, 12th May 1650, showing he was heartily sorry that *James Graham* had invaded this kingdom, and *how he had discharged him from doing the same;* and earnestly desires the Estates of Parliament to do himself that *justice* as not to believe that he was accessory to the said invasion *in the least degree*,—read. Also a double of his Majesty's letter to James Graham, *date* 15*th May* (when Montrose was a prisoner) 1650, commanding him to lay down arms, and secure all the ammunition under his charge; read in the house. The *Marquis of Argyle* reported to the House, that himself had a letter from the Secretary, the *Earl of Lothian*, which showed him that his Majesty was *no ways sorry* that James Graham was defeated, in respect, as he said, he had made that invasion *without and contrary to his command*."

We trust that this dishonest meanness rests not with Charles

Among the Ormonde papers there is a melancholy document, entitled "Proceedings of the Marquis of Montrose," in which his progress is traced, through the northern courts of Europe, from the month of August 1649 to the eve of his descent upon Scotland. During this period he may be said to have lived with crowned heads. The King of Denmark, the Queen of Sweden, the King of Poland, the Dukes of Friesland, Courland, Brunswick, Cell, and Hanover, vied with each other in doing honour to Montrose, and exciting his exertions by the most liberal promises of the sinews of war. And "his Imperial Majesty did heartily express his longing desire to give all assistance possible to his Majesty of Great Britain; and that all the Princes of the Empire were as well affected. The Emperor demanded a meeting at Frankfort on the Main, and did give full power to Piccolomini to treat with them concerning the same. The effects whereof followed according to Montrose's heart's desire, and will ere long be fully known, to the astonishment of the Rebels. * * * And now there are letters lately come, reporting that Montrose is no more to be found in Denmark nor Sweden, having gone incognito to Scotland, no man knowing when or what way he went; having left behind him his Lieutenant-General, my Lord Rythven, General-Major Carpe, my Lord Napier, and many officers ready to make sail at such time as he has designed to them. But a short time will clear all. In the meantime, I am desired from Hamburgh, Denmark, and Sweden, to find some faithful friend to give information to his Majesty of all these former truths. Montrose has caused make the

II., but with Argyle and his coadjutors, whom it would make no worse than they were. See last note at end of this volume.

King's standard all black,—all full of bloody hands and swords, and a red character or motto above carrying revenge."*

A short time, indeed, cleared all. The particulars of this unhappy attempt have been so fully recorded, both by contemporary and modern historians, as to need no illustration. Suffice it to say, that Montrose was deceived, by the magnificent promises of the potentates abroad, and by the too sanguine hopes of the crushed royalists in Scotland. The former furnished him with arms, ammunition, and transports, but left him to provide an army for himself. The latter were right in their estimate of the sentiments of the Scottish people ; but they forgot that the spirit of the nation was crushed under the Dictatorship of Argyle, whose insidious negociations, moreover, with Charles himself at the very time, held out false hopes of the settlement of Monarchy by some more peaceful and powerful intervention than Montrose's. The elements, too, were adverse to the cause of truth and justice. Of twelve hundred troops whom Montrose sent before him to Orkney, a thousand perished by shipwreck. His own fate was not long delayed. Destitute of cavalry, and with only a few hundreds of troops, composed of Germans, Orkney-men, and a small band of his personal friends, Montrose reached the confines of Ross-shire, where, at a place called Corbiesdale, near the pass of Invercarron and the river Kyle, he fell into an ambuscade, and was instantly overwhelmed by the covenanting cavalry under Colonel Strachan, followed up by the superior forces of David Leslie, General Holburn, and the Earl of Sutherland. The whole of his army were slaughtered on the field, drowned in the river, or made prisoners, with little

* The motto was, " Judge and revenge my cause, O Lord !'

or no loss on the side of the victors. Montrose and his friends fought to desperation. By his side was killed young Menzies of Pitfoddels (a nephew of Sutherland's,) while defending the ghastly Standard, of which he was the bearer. Montrose himself was covered with wounds, (which, it seems, might have proved mortal even had his enemies suffered him to live,) and his horse was killed under him. His friend the Viscount of Frendraught, also severely wounded, generously dismounted to afford Montrose a chance of life by escaping on his horse. The Viscount yielded himself a prisoner to his uncle, the Earl of Sutherland, from whom he felt certain of quarter, and who accordingly sent him to Dunrobin to be cured of his wounds. By this means Montrose extricated himself from the bloody scene, and quitted the field in company with the Earl of Kinnoul, and two gentlemen of the name of Sinclair. The rest of his friends (including his chief officer, Major-General Hurry,) were taken prisoners, with the exception of young Pitfoddels, the Laird of Pourie Ogilvy, John Douglas, (the Earl of Morton's brother,) and a few other officers, all of whom were left dead on the field. Napier had not yet joined his uncle from abroad. It must have been late in the evening when Montrose escaped, for the surprise occurred about five o'clock in the afternoon of the 27th of April, and the unequal struggle continued for some hours. He did his best to save himself from the fangs of those whom he knew were thirsting for his blood. In an old inventory of the Montrose charter-chest, there is noted a "Letter by Charles II. to James Marques of Montrose, creating him Knight of the Garter, with the George and ribband enclosed, dated at Castle Elizabeth, Jersey, 12th January 1650."*

* This letter would have been an interesting addition to our illustra-

Balfour records that that George and Garter were found concealed at the root of a tree, in the line of Montrose's flight, and brought in triumph to the Committee of Estates. Some of his papers were also found disposed of in the same manner. He had been soon compelled to abandon his horse, and he sought safety by changing habits with the first Highland peasant whom he met. The contemporary historian of the Earls of Sutherland records, that Montrose and Kinnoul "wandered up that river (Kyle) the whole ensuing night and the next day, and the third day also, without any food or sustenance, and at last came within the country of Assint. The Earl of Kinnoul being faint for lack of meat, and not able to travel any farther, was left there among the mountains, where it was supposed he perished. James Graham had almost famished, but that he fortuned in his misery to light upon a small cottage in that wilderness, where he was supplied with some milk and bread." Another contemporary account asserts that Montrose suffered such extremity of hunger while wandering among the hills of Assint, that he was reduced to devour his gloves.* Not even the frame of Montrose could endure disguise prolonged under such circumstances. He gave himself up to Macleod of Assint, a former adherent, from whom he had reason to expect assistance in consideration of their old acquaintance, and indeed by the dictates of honourable feeling and common humanity. As the Argyle faction had sold the King, so Macleod of Assint rendered his own name infamous, in proportion to the fame of Montrose, by selling that

tions. The old inventory, referred to for want of better authority, I have seen in private hands.

* See Sharpe's notes to Kirkton's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 123.

hero to Argyle and his myrmidons, for which "duty to the public" he was rewarded with four hundred bolls of meal.* David Leslie, into whose hands Montrose was delivered, sullied whatever laurels he had ever reaped by the mean indignities with which he vainly endeavoured to crush the spirit, or lower the character, of his illustrious prisoner. Exhausted and wounded, he, who so lately associated with kings, was dragged triumphantly, in the mean and way-worn habit of his disguise, through the country to the merciless tribunal of the Covenant. While they paused at the house of the Laird of Grange, not far from Dundee, Montrose had very nearly effected his escape. The excellent lady of Grange plied the guards with intoxicating cheer until they were all fast asleep, and then she dressed their prisoner in her own clothes, hoping to save him as his friend Ogilvy had been saved. In this disguise he passed all the sentinels, and was on the point of escaping, when a half-drunken soldier, just sober enough to give the alarm, blundered into his way, and Montrose was again secured.

We have now only to illustrate, from the most authentic and original sources, the last scene of a tragedy which, contrary to the expectations of his fiendish persecutors, only served to bring out the full lustre of Montrose's character, while upon the Church of Scotland it has left a stain that time cannot efface.

A rare pamphlet, printed at the time,† states,—

* Macleod's Indictment, Criminal Records, 1674. He was tried for that treachery, but saved by means of bribery, and the interest of Lauderdale, the enemy of Montrose.

† "A true and perfect relation of the most remarkable passages and speeches at and before the death of his Excellence James Graham Marquis of Montrose, &c. faithfully collected by an eye-witness in Edinburgh, as they happened upon the 18, 20, and the 21 of May 1650. Printed 1650."

"That the Parliament of Scotland being informed that the Marquis of Montrose was taken, and foreseeing that his countenance and carriage might gain him some favour amongst the people, thought fit to give out their sentence against him before he should come to Edinburgh. And therefore, upon the 17th of May anno 1650, in the morning, they appointed a committee to prepare and give in their opinions what was fittest to be done with him; the same afternoon they gave in their report in writing. *

"Upon the 18th day, about four o'clock in the afternoon, he was brought in at the Water-Gate, and, according to the sentence, was met by the magistrates, the guards, and the hangman of the city, the rest of the prisoners [including Sir John Hurry] being tied two and two together, going bare-headed before him. So soon as he came within the gate the magistrates showed him the sentence, which when he had read, and

* The act of Parliament proceeding upon this report is thus recorded by the covenanting Lord Lyon, in his MS. notes of the Parliament, preserved in the Advocates' Library. "Friday, 17th May. Act ordaining James Graham to be brought from the Water-Gate—on a cart bare-headed, the hangman, in his livery, covered, riding on the horse that draws the cart, the prisoner to be bound to the cart with a rope—to the tolbooth of Edinburgh, and from thence to be brought to the Parliament House, and there, in the place of delinquents, on his knees to receive sentence, viz. To be hanged on a gibbet at the cross of Edinburgh, with his book and declaration tied in a rope about his neck, and there to hang for the space of three hours until he were dead, and thereafter to be cut down by the hangman, his head, hands, and legs to be cut off, and distributed as follows, viz. his head to be affixed on an iron pin, and set on the gavel of the new prison of Edinburgh, one hand to be set on the port of Perth, the other on the port of Stirling, one leg and foot on the port of Aberdeen, the other on the port of Glasgow. If he was at his death penitent, and relaxed from excommunication, then the trunk of his body to be interred, by pioneers, in the Grey-Friars,—otherwise, to be interred in the Borough Muir, by the hangman's men, under the gallows." This infamous sentence was the offspring of Argyle, Archibald Johnston, and the Kirk.

perceived the cart and the hangman there ready, he said,—he would willingly obey, he was only sorry that through him his Majesty, whose person he represented, should be so dishonoured. Then going cheerfully into the cart, he being uncovered,* was by the hangman tied thereunto with ropes [on an elevated seat] and the hangman on the horse rode covered. Thus was he carried to the prison, and in all the way there appeared in him such a majesty, courage, and modesty, no way daunted, that his very enemies, nay common women, who, as it was believed by divers, would have stoned him in the cart as he passed, were upon the sight of him so astonished and moved, that their intended curses were turned into tears and prayers for him, in so much as the next day, being Sunday, the ministers preached against them for not reviling and stoning of him as he passed along.† When he was taken from the cart he gave the hangman gold, telling him 'that was a reward for driving the cart.' It was seven o'clock at night before he was entered into the prison, and immediately the Parliament met, and sent some of their members, and some ministers, to examine him. But he refused to answer any thing to them until he was sa-

* Montrose refused to take off his hat, and the hangman pulled it from his head.

† See some very curious extracts from the Records of the Presbytery of St Andrews, recently printed for the Abbotsford Club, illustrating the Kirk's violent persecution of all classes of individuals of both sexes, who dared to breathe a syllable in favour of Montrose, or derogatory to Argyle. The "having drunk drinks to James Graham," or sung a loyal song in his favour, or (in the case of a minister) the not having "spoken enough for our deliverance from James Graham," or the having "spoken rashly of the Marquis of Argyle," are the heinous and gross offences recorded, with their respective punishments, in this clerical Record. But for the tyranny of the church faction, whose reign was indeed a reign of terror, Montrose would have been very popular, generally speaking, in Scotland.

tisfied upon what terms they stood with the King, his Royal master, which being reported unto the Parliament, they ceased proceeding against him until Monday, and allowed their Commissioners to tell him that the King and they were agreed. He desired to be at rest, for he was weary with a long journey, and, he said, 'the compliment they had put upon him that day was somewhat tedious.' The next day, being Sunday, he was constantly attended by ministers and Parliament-men, who still pursued him with threatenings, but they got no advantage of him. He told them,—'they thought they had affronted him the day before by carrying him in a cart, but they were very much mistaken; for he thought it the most honourable and joyfullest journey that ever he made, God having all the while most comfortably manifested his presence to him, and furnished him with resolution to overlook the reproaches of men, and to behold him for whose cause he suffered.'"

We shall now follow Montrose into his prison, by means of a very interesting manuscript which I find in the Advocates' Library, in the handwriting of Robert Wodrow, the well known champion of the Kirk.

"This same time, Mr Patrick Simson * told me that he was allowed to go in with the ministers that went in to confer with the Marquis of Montrose, the day before his death, and was present at the time of their conference. His memory is so good, that although it be now sixty years and more since it was, I can entirely depend upon his relation, even as to the very words, and I set it down here as I wrote it from his mouth, and read it over to him. †

* He was minister of Renfrew, born 1628, and died 1715. At one time he was Moderator of the General Assembly.

† In the Transactions of the Scottish Antiquaries, 1833, there is

"In the year 1650, the 20th of May, being Monday, the morning about 8 of the clock, before the Marquis got his sentence, several ministers, Mr James Guthrie,* Mr James Durham, Mr Robert Trail, minister at Edinburgh, and, if my author be not forgetful, Mr Mungo Law, appointed by the Commission of the Great Assembly, went into the tolbooth of Edinburgh, where Montrose was. His room was kept (by) Lieutenant Collonel Wallace. Being forfeited and excommunicated, they only termed him *Sir*, and gave him none of his titles. Mr James Guthrie began, and told Montrose that there were several things might mar *his light*, in this affair they were come to him about, which he would do well to lay to heart, and he would hint at them before they came to the main point. 1st, Somewhat of his natural temper, which was *aspiring* and *lofty*, or to that purpose. 2dly, His personal vices, which were too notorious,—my author tells me he meant his being given to women. † 3dly, The taking

printed another version of this very curious paper, also from a MS. in Wodrow's handwriting, substantially the same as the above, but not so full. The above would certainly have been preferred, by the learned contributor to the Transactions, had it been observed.

* He who was afterwards hanged by Charles II., and canonized therefore by the Kirk.

† We may rest assured that had any thing of the kind been known, it would have been particularly noted against Montrose, and cast up to him in his dying moments. The fame of no woman, that I can discover, has suffered on his account. The same cannot be said of Pym, or London, or Lauderdale, or Cromwell, and others of "the Saints." Montrose no doubt was an accomplished *carpet-knight*, (for which, however, the field left him little time,) and it would be rash to affirm that, in such an age too, he was immaculate. But the expression in the text is the gross expression of a gross sect. Were all those ministers immaculate? See those disgusting ravings of Mr Samuel Rutherford, not the less loathsome that they are under the mask of religion. To the disgrace of the literature of a Christian and civilized country, they yet find admirers. Witness, too, a certain correspondence of the Reverend Mr

a commission from the King to fight against his country, and raise a civil war within our bowels. Montrose's direct answer to this my relator hath forgot. 4thly, His taking Irish and Popish rebels, and cut-throats, by the hand, to make up of against his own countrymen. 5thly, The spoil and ravage his men made through the country, also the much blood shed by his cruel followers. Montrose heard him patiently till he had done, and then resumed all the particulars, and discoursed on them handsomely, as he could well do, intermixing many Latin apothegms, only my author thought his way and expression a little too airy and volage,—not so much suiting the gravity of a nobleman.* He granted that God had made men of several tempers and dispositions,—some slow and dull, others more sprightly and active,—and, if the Lord should withhold light on that account, he confessed he was one of those that love to have praise for virtuous actions. As for his personal vices, he did not deny but he had many; but if the Lord should withhold light upon that account, it might reach unto the greatest of saints, who wanted not their faults and failings. One of the ministers, here interrupting him, said, he was

John Livingston, referred to in Kirkton's History, p. 51. To this worthy, the Lady Culross writes, *inter alia*, "John Gray, your young bab, longs for the pap, blessed be God for that change, come help to confirm him. * * * Your claiths are here, which ye left with us to make us the more sure of you, and yet ye failed us. Do not so now, for fear *we poind your nicht cap*."

* The idea of the Kirk criticising Montrose's manners, as well as his morals, and being *Arbiter Elegantiarum* to him who had so recently associated with crowned heads, and been the glass of fashion in the most distinguished Courts of Europe, is supremely ludicrous. One of the ministers evinced his own Christian manners, upon that occasion, by telling Montrose that "he was a faggot of hell, and he saw him burning already." The picture of his playing the pedant, and fine gentleman, to his tormentors, is very curious.

not to compare himself with the Scripture saints. He answered, ‘ I make no comparison of myself with them, I only speak of the argument.’ As to the taking of those men, to be his soldiers, who were Irish Papists, &c. he said it was no wonder that the King should take any of his subjects who would help him, when those who should have been his best subjects, deserted and opposed him ; ‘ we see,’ said he, ‘ what a company David took to defend him in the time of his strait.’ There were some volitations, to and fro, upon that practice of David, which are forgot. As to his men’s spoiling and plundering the country, he answered,—they know that soldiers who wanted pay could not be restrained from spoilzie, nor kept under such strict discipline as other regular forces ; but he did all that lay in him to keep them back from it ; and for bloodshed, if it could have been thereby prevented, he would rather it had all come out of his own veins. Then falling on the main business, they charged him with breach of Covenant. To which he answered, ‘ The Covenant which I took I own it and adhere to it. Bishops, I care not for them. I never intended to advance their interest. But when the King had granted you all your desires, and you were every one sitting under his vine and under his fig tree,—that then you should have taken a party in England by the hand, and entered into a League and Covenant with them against the King, was the thing I judged my duty to oppose to the yondmost.’ In the progress of their discoursing, which my author hath forgot, the Marquis added, ‘ That course of theirs ended not but in the King’s death, and overturning the whole of the Government.’ When one of the ministers answered, ‘ that was a *sectarian* party that rose up and carried things beyond the true and first intent of them,’—he said only,

in reply, 'Error is infinite.' After other discourses, when they were risen and upon their feet to go away, Mr Guthrie said,—'As we were appointed by the Commission of the General Assembly to confer with you, to bring you, if it could be obtained, to some sense of your guilt, so we had, if we had found you penitent, power from the same Commission, to release you from that sentence of excommunication under which you lie. But now since we find it far otherwise with you, and that you maintain your former course, and all these things for which that sentence passed upon you, we must, with sad hearts, leave you under the same, unto the judgment of the great God, having the fearful apprehension, that *what is bound in earth, God will bind in Heaven.* To which he replied, 'I am very sorry that any actions of mine have been offensive to the Church of Scotland, and I would, with all my heart, be reconciled with the same. But since I cannot obtain it on any other terms,—unless I call that my sin which I account to have been my duty,—I *cannot*, for all the reason and conscience in the world.' This last expression is somewhat short; but my author tells me he remembers it distinctly, and the Marquis had those very words, neither more nor less. This is an exact copy of what I took from Mr Simson's mouth, September 29th, 1710.

"RO. WODROW."

"He tells me further, that on Friday, or Saturday, Mr David Dickson was with Montrose,* but gained no

* This allusion to a former persecution is confirmed by the following extract from the MS. minutes of the General Assembly: "Edinburgh, 18th May 1650. The Commission of the General Assembly doth appoint Messrs David Dickson, James Durham, James Guthrie, Robert Trail, Hugh Mackael, to attend upon James Graham when he is entered in ward, and upon the scaffold, and deal with him to bring him to repentance, with power to them to release him from excommunication, if so be *he shall subscribe the declaration condescended upon by the Commission*, con-

ground on him ; that the Parliament would allow him no knife nor weapon in the room with him, lest he should have done harm to himself. When he heard this, he said to his keepeer : ' You need not be at so much pains. Before I was taken I had a prospect of this cruel treatment, and if my conscience would have allowed me, I could have dispatched myself.' After the ministers had gone away, and he had been a little his alone, my author being in the outer room with Colonel Wallace, he took his breakfast, a little bread dipt in ale. He desired leave to have a barber to shave him, which was refused him, my author *thinks*, on the former reason. When Colonel Wallace told him, from the persons sent to, he could not have that favour, my author heard him say,—' I would not think but they would have allowed that to a dog.' This same day, between 10 and 12, he was called to the bar, and got his sentence, to be hanged and quartered, his head to remain at Edinburgh, one quarter to Glasgow, another to Aberdeen, &c. When he got notice that this was to be his sentence, either in the prison, or when coming from the bar, he said—' *It becomes them rather to be hangmen than me to be hanged.*' He expected and desired to be headed."

Into the Parliament-House, immediately after the above scene, we are enabled to follow Montrose, by means of the manuscript journals of the Lord Lyon, who was present.

"Monday, 20th May. The Parliament met about ten o'clock, and immediately after the down-sitting James Graham was brought before them by the magis-

taining an acknowledgment of his *heinous and gross offences*,—otherwise that they should not relax him."

trates of Edinburgh, and ascended the place of delinquents. After the Lord Chancellor had spoken to him, and in a large discourse declared the progress of all his rebellions, he showed him that the House gave him leave to speak for himself. Which he did in a long discourse, with all reverence to the Parliament,—as he said. Since the King and their Commissioners were accorded, he pleaded his own innocency, by calling all his own depredations, murders, and bloodshed, only diversion of the Scots nation from interrupting the course of his Majesty's affairs in England ; and as for his last invasion from Orkney,—from which, *said he*, he moved not one foot but by his Majesty's special direction and command,—that he called an accelerating of the treaty betwixt his Majesty and this nation.* To him the Lord Chancellor replied, punctually proving him, *by his acts of hostility*, to be a person most infamous, perjured, treacherous, and, of all that ever this land brought forth, the most cruel and inhuman butcher of his country ; and one whose boundless pride and ambition had lost the father, and by his wicked counsels had done what in him lay to destroy the son likewise. He made no reply, but was commanded to sit down on his knees, and receive his sentence, which he did. Archibald Johnston, the Clerk Register, read it, and the Dempster gave the doom,—and immediately arising from off his knees, without speaking one word, he was removed thence to the prison. He behaved himself all this time in the House with a great deal of courage and modesty,—unmoved and undaunted—*as appeared*, †—only, he

* The precise words of Montrose's noble and perfect reply to the invective of Loudon, Argyle's chancellor, will be found at the end of the volume.

† It will be seen that involuntary and irrepressible admiration, of the

sighed two several times, and rolled his eyes alongst all the corners of the House, and at the reading of the sentence, *he lifted up his face,** without any word speaking. He presented himself in a suit of black cloth, and a scarlet coat to his knee, trimmed with silver galouns, lined with crimson tafta; on his head a bever hat and silver band, He looked somewhat pale, lank-faced, and hairy."†

A diary left in manuscript by the Rev. Robert Trail himself, enables us to follow Montrose from the Parliament House back to his prison.

"When the Marquis of Montrose was brought into the Parliament-hall to receive his sentence, I was present, with some others of the ministers of the town, and heard his sentence read unto him, he being in the pannel, and commanded to kneel on his knees while it was a reading, which he did, but very unwillingly. After it had been fully read, he answered,— 'That, according to our Scots proverb, *a messenger should neither be headed nor hanged.*' ‡ My Lord Loudon, being then President of the Parliament, replied very well, 'that it was he, and such as he, that were a great snare to

man, bursts through Balfour's malicious inclination to detect the slightest quailing in Montrose.

* With a soul as superior to Archibald Johnston's as light to darkness. The satisfaction with which the "minion of the Kirk" would read out the bloody details of that sentence, will be easily conceived after what we have seen of him. His own hour of mortal agony came.

† No wonder. He had recently been reduced to devour his gloves, and had probably neither been shaved nor comfortably fed since he was "brought into Edinburgh, having *many wounds* upon him, which, according to the Diurnal, *might have been* cured."—*Kirkton, Notes*, p. 123. See also Whitelock, who notes,—"May 17, Letters that Montrose was taken two or three days after the fight, sixteen miles from the place of the engagement, in a disguise, and *sorely wounded.*"

‡ Sir James Balfour had not observed this remark.

Princes, and drew them to give such bloody commissions. After that he was carried back to prison. The commission of the Kirk, then sitting, did appoint Mr James Hamilton, Mr Robert Baillie, Mr Mungo Law, and me, to go and visit him in the prison; for he being some years before excommunicated, none except his nearest relations might converse with him. But by a warrant from the Kirk, we staid a while with him about his *soul's condition*. But we found him continuing in his old pride, and taking very ill what was spoken to him, saying,—'*I pray, you, gentlemen, let me die in peace.*' It was answered, that he might die in true peace, being reconciled to the Lord, and to *his Kirk*. He went aside to a corner of the chamber, and there spoke a little time with Mr Robert Baillie alone; and thereafter we left him. Mr Baillie, at our coming out of the tolbooth, told us, that what he spoke to him was only concerning some of his personal sins in his conversation, but nothing concerning the things for which he was condemned. We returned to the Commission, and did show unto them what had passed amongst us. They, seeing that for the present he was not desiring relaxation from his censure of excommunication, did appoint Mr Mungo Law, and me, to attend on the morrow upon the scaffold, at the time of his execution, that in case he should desire to be relaxed from his excommunication, we should be allowed to give it unto him in the name of the Kirk, and to pray, with him and for him, *that what is loosed in earth, might be loosed in Heaven.*"

Thus reviled by the Parliamentary organs of Argyle —tormented by his impious chaplains,—whose doctrine was that *they* could withdraw a fellow creature from the mercies of the Redeemer,—jaded with fatigue, stiff with

unhealed wounds,—"pale, lank-faced, and hairy,"—Montrose evinced a spirit unconquerable, and a soul destined for the brightest immortality. Referring to the sentence he had just received, he thus addressed the magistrates in his prison: 'I am much beholden to the Parliament for the great honour they have decreed me. I am prouder to have my head fixed upon the top of the prison, in the view of the present and succeeding ages, than if they had decreed me a golden statue in the market-place, or that my picture should be hung in the King's bed-chamber. I am thankful for that effectual method of preserving the memory of my devotion to my beloved Sovereign. Would that I had flesh enough to send a portion to every city in Christendom, as a testimony of my unshaken love and fidelity to my King and Country.' And that very night, with a command of mind which, under all the circumstances, is perhaps unique as an example of heroic self-possession, he composed the metrical prayer, where the same scorn, of the savage aggravations of his sentence, is linked with a more solemn sentiment than loyalty: *

> Let them bestow on every airth † a limb,
> Then open all my veins,—that I may swim
> To thee, my Maker, in that crimson lake,—
> Then place my purboil'd head upon a stake,

* These verses of Montrose are said to have been written by him with a diamond on the prison window, the night before he suffered. Mr Brodie's critique has been already alluded to. "Montrose," says our Historiographer, "preserved his spirit to the last, and *amused* himself with embodying his feelings of *loyalty* in verse, which, however, was, as poetry, no less execrable than his actions had been as a member of society." *Hume* has pronounced that verse to be "no despicable proof of his poetical genius;" and *Voltaire* calls it, *assez beaux vers*. But it would seem that Mr Brodie never read them. The sentiment is not *loyalty*, but Religion. It was a solemn appeal to his Maker, from that papistical doctrine, that what the Kirk bound on Earth God would not loose in Heaven.

† *Airth*. Point of the compass.

Scatter my ashes—strew them in the air—
Lord! since thou knowest where all these atoms are,
I'm hopeful thoul't recover once my dust,
And confident thoul't raise me with the just!

Besides his clerical tormentors, there was another who, according to the authority of an old tract, grievously disturbed the little rest which Montrose could obtain that night. The notorious monster *Major Weir*, afterwards executed for some brutal crimes, commanded the Town-guard, and he remained in the cell with Montrose, with "his lighted tobacco, which he continually smoked, though the Marquis had an aversion to the smell of it above any thing in the world. Nay, he would even disturb him in his devotions,—making his very calamities an argument that God, as well as man, had forsaken him, and calling him dog, atheist, apostate, excommunicated wretch, and many other intolerable names."*

Early next morning, (Tuesday the 21st of May 1650,) Montrose asked this same Captain of the guard, why drums and trumpets were resounding through the town? Perhaps, his own verse recurred to him,—

I'll sound no trumpet as I wont,
Nor march by tuck of drum,—

but he betrayed no symptoms of such regret, and when told that it was to call out the soldiers and citizens in arms, because the Parliament dreaded a rising of the malignants (*i. e.* the people) in his favour, 'What,' he he said, 'am I still a terror to them? Let them look to themselves, my ghost will haunt them.' And now, having taken his breakfast of a little bread dipt in ale, he commenced his toilet for death, with the serenity that never forsook him. Those long light-chestnut locks

* *Ravillac Redivivus.* 1682.

of which he was not a little vain, dishevelled, and perhaps matted with the blood of his wounds, he was in the act of combing out and arranging, when a sullen and moody man broke in upon him with the impertinent reproof,—'Why is James Graham so careful of his locks?' 'My head,' replied Montrose, 'is yet my own —I will dress it and adorn it,—to-night, when it will be yours, you may treat it as you please.' The tormentor was Archibald Johnston. Montrose seems ever to have studied propriety or effect in costume. When he first led the Claymores to save the Throne, "that day he went on foot himself with his target and pike." But now, he meant to "die like a gentleman." In the centre of the Grassmarket of Edinburgh his murderers had erected an ample stage, from which arose a gallows, with its corresponding ladder, of the extraordinary height of thirty feet. To this place, from the Tolbooth, Montrose had to walk. No friend or relation was permitted to accompany him, or sustain his spirit by their presence on the scaffold. But he had been suffered to adorn himself as he pleased, for Argyle had no objection to the visible demonstration that it was the most graceful nobleman in the land who, at his fiat, was to die the death of a dog. At two o'clock in the afternoon he was led forth. The manuscript diary of an eye-witness* has preserved to us this portrait:—"In his down-going, from the Tolbooth to the place of execution, he was very richly clad in fine scarlet, laid over with rich silver-lace,—his hat in his hand,—his bands and cuffs exceeding rich,—his delicate white gloves on his hands,—his stockings

* John Nicholl, writer to the Signet, and notary public in Edinburgh, at the time. His diary, preserved in the Advocates' Library, is referred to before, Introductory Chapter, p. 5.

of incarnate [flesh-coloured] silk,—and his shoes with their ribbands [roses] on his feet,—and sarks, [embroidered linen,] provided for him, with pearling [lace] about, above ten pund the elne. All these were provided for him by his friends, and a pretty cassock put on upon him, upon the scaffold, wherein he was hanged. To be short, nothing was here deficient to honour his poor carcase, more beseeming a bridegroom, nor [than] a criminal going to the gallows."

To the bitter disappointment of his enemies, Montrose went through this trying scene with the magnanimity of a hero, the dignity of a nobleman, the grace and gallantry of a perfect gentleman, and the well-grounded hope of a true Christian. He was not permitted to address the people from the scaffold, but transcripts of his admirable speeches to those around him, uttered in the midst of tormenting interrogatories and interruptions, had been preserved, and will be found at the end of this volume. When Dr Wishart's work, and his own declaration, were brought to be bound to his back, he hung them himself about his neck, saying, 'I did not feel more honoured when the King sent me the garter.' The contemporary continuation of that same work tells us, that this celebrated act of their abortive malice was performed after he had prayed for about a quarter of an hour, with his hat before his eyes,—that he was earnest to be permitted to die with his hat on, and requested the privilege of keeping on his cloak, both of which requests were refused. "Then, with a most undaunted courage, he went up to the top of that prodigious gibbet, where, having freely pardoned the executioner, he gave him three or four pieces of gold, and inquired of him how long he should hang there, he told him three hours; then commanding him, at the

uplifting of his hands, to tumble him over, he was accordingly thrust off by the weeping executioner."* Such is the testimony of a friend, which is curiously corroborated by that of an enemy. Mr Robert Trail, referring to his own and his colleague's commission, says in his manuscript, " But he (Montrose) did not at all desire to be relaxed from his excommunication in the name of the Kirk,—yea, did not look towards that place of the scaffold where we stood; only, he drew apart some of the magistrates, and spake a while with them; and then went up the ladder, in his red scarlet cassock, *in a very stately manner*, and never spoke a word. But when the executioner was putting the cord about his neck, he looked down to the people upon the scaffold, and asked 'How long should I hang here?' When my colleague and I saw him casten over the ladder, we returned to the Commission, and *related to them the matter as it was.*" But John Nicholl staid to see the rest of the bloody play: " He hung" (says he) " full three hours, —thereafter cut down, falling upon his face, none to countenance him but the executioner and his men. His head, two legs, and two arms taken from his body with an axe, and sent away and affixed at the places foresaid, his body cast into a little short chest, and taken to the Boroughmuir, and buried there among malefactors." His head, according to the account printed in 1652, " was fixed upon the Tolbooth, over against the Earl of Gowrie's, with an iron cross over it, lest, by any of his friends, it should have been taken down."† Thus died Montrose in the 38th year of his age. The last

* Edition 1652.

† This was the necromantic Earl, Montrose's maternal uncle, whose head was so elevated in 1600 for the Gowrie conspiracy.

words he uttered ere he ascended the ladder were "May God have mercy on this afflicted kingdom."*

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In the Napier charter-chest, along with those remnants of manuscripts we have now printed to illustrate Montrose and his Times, are some mysterious relics of a different description. There is a rich satin cap of a faded straw-colour, lined with very fine linen turned up with lace, and of the costume that is to be seen in the portraits of some dignitaries of the reign of Charles I. There is, moreover, a sheet, or handkerchief, about three feet square, also of the very finest linen, and trimmed on all sides, with tassels at the corners, like a pall. The trimming is lace of the same description (though not so broad) as that which forms the wreath round the cap, being, probably, what Nicholl describes as "pearling, above ten pund the elne." Lastly, we find a pair of stockings, knit, of glossy thread, not at all the worse for the wear, and still retaining somewhat of the original gloss, yet with any thing but the appearance of having been knit in the present century. The invariable tradition in the Napier family has been, that these are the cap, handkerchief, and stockings, worn

* Argyle, as usual, was the snake in the grass upon this occasion. He did not witness the execution, though his son did, and brutally "triumphed at every stroke which was bestowed upon his mangled body." There is printed, however, (by Mr Sharpe in his edition of Kirkton, p. 124,) a letter of Argyle's to Lothian, from the original, in possession of the Marquis of Lothian, dated 22d May 1650, which is of the meanest and most cowardly cast. It was meant for the ear of the King. He speaks of "the tragic end of James Graham at this cross," who, he adds, "was *warned* to be sparing in speaking to the King's disadvantage, *else he had done it*," &c.; and "he got *some* resolution, after he came here, how to go out of this world, but nothing at all how to enter into another." It might have been replied to Argyle, "A ministering angel shall he be, when thou liest howling."

by Montrose on the scaffold; and, unless explained by some history of the kind, why such articles should have been thus separately preserved, it is not easy to understand. The appearance of the stockings especially confirms the tradition. The tops of them, which must have reached above the knee, have been completely saturated with something that has now the appearance of faded blood, diminishing downwards to a point, and, in one of the stockings, extending to the instep. This is pointed out as the blood of Montrose, and the fact of hewing off the limbs, when the stockings were only shoved down below the knees, would perfectly account for those appearances, which indeed are not to be accounted for in any other way. Upon the satin of the cap there is a single small stain of what may have been blood, and the lace appears to have been sprinkled with the same. The handkerchief is the most stained, being marked, towards the centre, with blotches of different shades and hues, as if it had been gore and matter. The tradition is, that this was the handkerchief he wore at the time of his execution, and that it had been dipt in his blood. But Montrose used no handkerchief as a signal to be cast off, and this has not the appearance of a piece of dress at all. We shall immediately afford a more plausible explanation.

It is slightly mentioned in the contemporary accounts that Montrose's friends were permitted to see him in prison. Of his dearest friends the most were now dead, prisoners, or in exile. Such of his surviving male relatives as would have been apt to regard him as a martyr were so obnoxious themselves to the faction, or so deeply involved with him, that they dared not be heard of in the country. But there were three females,—the Lady of Keir, Lady Napier, and Lilias

Napier, — whose hearts were aching for Montrose, and, most probably, these were the friends who provided the gay garments of his martyrdom, with the costly pearling, the fine linen, the carnation stockings,* and the delicate white gloves. Nicholl in his diary mentions, that, "because it was rumoured among the people that James Graham's friends secretly intended to convoy his head off the prick whereon it was set, on the tolbooth of Edinburgh, therefore, within six days after his execution, there was a new cross prick appointed of iron, to cross the former prick whereon his head was fixed, which was speedily done, that his head should not be removed." Now it has also been a constant tradition in the family, that Lady Napier actually did contrive to obtain Montrose's heart, (from its grave under the gallows near Merchiston Castle,) which she caused to be embalmed. Nor does this rest alone upon family tradition. In the relation of the "True Funerals" of Montrose, written by one who had "followed him several years in his expeditions,"† occurs this circumstantial statement: "All that belonged to the body of this great hero was carefully re-collected, only his heart, which, *two days* after the murder, in spite of all the traitors, was, by the conveyance of some adventurous spirits appointed by that noble and honourable lady,

* The stockings in the Napier charter-chest are of a dusky white-colour, and not silk. But in one of the folds appears some *pink* or *carnation*, as if the remains of a dye that had been washed or worn out. Knit stockings were a rarity in those days, and the thread appears to have been very glossy. The leg is stout and shapely, with a remarkably small foot.

† See it quoted before, Vol. i. p. 115. I have almost satisfied myself on comparing this tract with St Serf's preface, previously quoted, and with the *Caledonius Mercurius*, of which St Serf was the author, that he was the author also of the tract in question, and very likely to have been one of the "adventurous spirits" who stole the heart.

the Lady Napier, taken out, and embalmed in the most costly manner by that skilful chirurgeon and apothecary, Mr James Callender, then put in a rich box of gold, and sent by the same noble lady to the *now* Lord Marquis, who was then in Flanders." The *Mercurius Caledonius* of the day (January 7, 1661,) when Montrose was restored to hallowed ground, mentions that the procession " chanced directly,—however *possibly* persons might have been present *able to demonstrate*,—on the same trunk, as evidently appeared by the coffin, which had been formerly broke a purpose, by some of his friends, in that place nigh his chest, whence they stole his heart, embalmed it in the costliest manner, and so reserves it." All this receives a decided confirmation from the translation of the second part of Dr Wishart's history, published in 1652,* only two years after Montrose suffered, where it is said,—" The rest of his body was by three or four porters carried out to the public place of execution, called the Boroughmuir, answerable to that of Tyburn by London, but walled about, and there was it thrown into a hole, where afterwards it was digged up by night, and the *linen in which it was folded* stolen away." Here is the explanation of the fine linen sheet in the Napier charter-chest. This was the occasion of stealing the heart, and the " adventurous spirits" had bundled it up in the linen, which to this hour retains the gory impressions. Lady Napier, and she who, when their hopes were bright, had sent the " well known token" to Montrose, and poor Lilias, had provided his death-toilet,—trimmed and tasselled his dainty winding sheet, of the

* The Latin of Wishart's Second Part was never published, nor is it known to exist now.

finest linen, with costly pearling,—and thus we have a tale of real life, surpassing the beautiful romance of Flora MacIvor.

There is, in the possession of the present Lord Napier, an original portrait, nearly full length and as large as life, of a portly and noble, but somewhat severe-looking lady, past the prime of her life. The arrangement of her gorgeous drapery betokens the luxurious Court of Charles II., and the painting displays the undoubted touch of Sir Peter Lely. Her white and tapering arms, her long unearthly-looking fingers, are spread over an ornamented urn placed on a table, by which the lady majestically stands. She is not reclining on the urn, but grasps it with a stern air of protection, as if to keep it from this base world, against which she seems to be looking daggers from out the picture. It is the Lady Elizabeth Erskine—the wife of him who could have lived with her "meanly in the deserts of Arabia," but who left her for Montrose,—the Lady of the Heart.*

So much for the Heart of Montrose. The fate of his Head was better known. There is a rare work, printed 1676, and entitled "Binning's Light to the Art of Gunnery," where it is stated,—"In the year 1650 I was in the Castle of Edinburgh. One remarkable instance I had in shooting at that mirror of his time for loyalty and gallantry, James Marquis of Montrose his head, standing on the pinnacle of the Tolbooth of Edinburgh; but that Providence had ordered that head to be taken down with more honour. I admired of its abiding, for the ball took the stone joining to the stone whereon it stood, which stone fell down and killed a

* See page 559 for the sequel of the history of Montrose's Heart.

drummer, and a soldier or two, on their march between the Luckenbooths and the church, and the head remained till, by his Majesty, it was ordered to be taken down and buried with such honour as was due to it." The various contemporary and minute accounts of that splendid pageant of the year 1661, "the True Funerals" of Montrose, will be found in the appendix to the translations of Wishart. The *Mercurius Caledonius* mentions, that, on the scaffolding erected near the head, for the purpose of taking it down, there stood, six storey high, "the Lord Naper, the Barons of Morphy, Inchbrakie, Urchell, and Gorthy." How fearfully changed must that countenance have appeared to Patrick Graham of Inchbrakie (for it was he) since first they went together to rouse the Claymores in Blair Athol. Montrose's nephew had never been in Scotland since the head of his idol attained that ghastly elevation; he died in exile before he was six-and-thirty, probably of his "preposterous love for his uncle," and the Lord Napier who stood on that scaffolding was his son, a youth of about eighteen.*

Very shortly after the above scene, an ugly-looking instrument, delicately termed "the maiden," and which is now to be seen in the museum of the Scottish Antiquaries, was brought out for the purpose of taking off a human head. The legal adviser, of the individual then about to suffer, had been the celebrated Sir George Mackenzie, who left in manuscript a long account of the trial and death of his client, in which he says,—"I remember that I having told him, a little before his death, that *the people* believed he was *a coward*, and *expected* he would

* It was Graham of Gorthy who took down the head from the iron spike, and Kirkton records exultingly, as a judgment of Providence, the curious fact that he died a few hours afterwards.

die timorously, he said to me he would not die as a Roman braving death, but he would die as a Christian without being affrighted. Yet some concluded that he died without courage, because he shifted to lay down his head, and protracted time by speaking at all the corners of the scaffold, which was not usual, and buttoning his doublet twice or thrice after he was ready to throw it off." Such speculation was there about the state of this individual's nerves, that his own doctor insulted him on the scaffold by feeling his pulse to ascertain that he had not already died of fright. The sincerity of his religion, and the certainty of his salvation, were proved, before his death, by a supernatural vision, the evidence for which was his own declaration of the fact; and his courage was demonstrated, after his death, by the appearance of his digestive organs upon dissection. Need I say, that this was ARGYLE, and that his head immediately occupied the spike from which Montrose's had just been removed.

Some time after this scene, Edinburgh was "refreshed" with another sight. A prisoner was brought up the High Street, bare-headed, to the council-house, where, says Sir George Mackenzie, "the Chancellor and others waited to examine him; he fell upon his face, *roaring*, and with tears entreated they would pity a poor creature who had forgot all that was in his Bible. This moved all the spectators with a deep melancholy, and the Chancellor, reflecting upon the man's great parts, former esteem, and the great share he had in all the late revolutions, could not deny some tears to the frailty of silly mankind. At his examination, he pretended that he had lost so much blood, by the unskilfulness of his chirurgeons, that he lost his memory with his blood, and I really believe that his

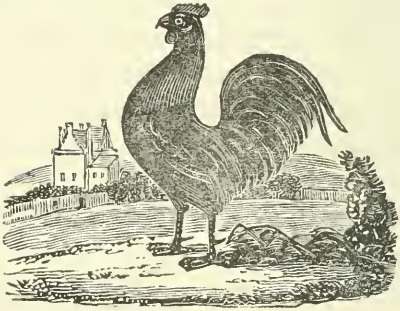
courage had indeed been drawn out with it. Within a few days he was brought before the Parliament, where he discovered nothing but much weakness, *running up and down upon his knees begging mercy.* But the Parliament ordained his former sentence to be put to execution, at the cross of Edinburgh. At his execution he showed more composure than formerly, which his friends ascribed to God's miraculous kindness for him. But others thought that he had only formerly put on this disguise of madness, to escape death in it, and that finding the mask useless he had returned, not to his wit which he had lost, but from his madness which he had counterfeited." It was ARCHIBALD JOHNSTON.

It will be remembered that, in the year 1641, this worthy threatened Charles the First that he would " look over *old practiques* not so expedient for him,"* in order to deprive him of his royal prerogatives ; and that the detection of these machinations first induced Montrose to turn from the Covenant. Charles and Montrose became victims of the Movement, and, finally, Archibald Johnston sat as a Peer in the Parliament of the King of the Independents, the " One" predicted by Montrose, whose throne was upon the neck of " Religion and Liberties." Now, when about to be hanged, † Archibald Johnston made an offer, which affords an excellent concluding commentary upon the " grand national movement." Middleton, in a letter to Primrose, which is preserved among the manuscripts of the Advocates' Library, writes, on the 3d of February 1663, " Mr Secretary Bennett, my Lord Dumfries, and my-

* See Vol. i. p. 366.

† After being hanged, his head was spiked over the west-bow of Edinburgh, beside the head of his friend, the Reverend James Guthrie, who had been hanged before him.

self, were taken up this whole day with examination of Warriston and some others. He pretends to have lost his memory, and so will give no account of any thing. He is the most timorous person that ever I did see in my life, and pretends he can do the King great service, if he will give him his life, in putting the registers in good order, and *settling the King's prerogative from old records.*"



The Borough Muir.

# THE HEART OF MONTROSE

[The following letter, addressed to his daughters, was kindly transmitted to me by my relative, Sir Alexander Johnston. It contains a narrative, forming the sequel to the History of Montrose's Heart, which has never been published, and is generally unknown. I may mention that the writer of it, the Right Honourable Sir Alexander Johnston, of his Majesty's Privy-Council, and formerly Chief-Justice of Ceylon, is now resident in London, and so well known that I need scarcely add he is there remarkable for his love and patronage of historical antiquities, and polite literature, as he is distinguished for the patriotic spirit and judicial abilities which he displayed at Ceylon.]

19, *Great Cumberland Place*,
1*st July* 1836.

My Dear Daughters,

I have great pleasure, at your request, in putting down upon paper for your amusement, all the circumstances, as well those which I have heard from my grandmother, Lady Napier, and my mother, as those which I can myself recollect, relative to the story of the Heart of the Marquis of Montrose, and the silver urn which is represented as standing upon a table before her in the portrait, of the wife of the second Lord Napier, which we have in our drawing-room.

My mother was, as you know, the only surviving daughter, at the time of his death, of her father, Francis the fifth Lord Napier of Merchiston; owing to this circumstance, she was a particular favourite of his, and was educated by him with the greatest care at Merchiston. The room in which she and her brothers, when children, used to say their lessons to him, was situated in that part of the tower of Merchiston in which John Napier had made all his mathematical discoveries, and in which, when she was a child, there were still a few of his books and instruments, and some of the diagrams which he had drawn upon the walls. In this room there were also four family portraits; one of John Napier, the Inventor of the Logarithms; one of

the first Marquis of Montrose, who was executed at Edinburgh in 1650; one of Lady Margaret Graham, who was the Marquis's sister, and was married to John Napier's son, Archibald the first Lord Napier; and one of Lady Elizabeth Erskine, who was the daughter of John the eighth Earl of Mar, and who was married to the Marquis's nephew, Archibald second Lord Napier.*

My mother's father, by way of amusing her after her lessons were over, used frequently to relate to her, all the remarkable events which are connected with the history of the four persons represented in these portraits; and perceiving that she was particularly interested in the subject, to dwell at length upon the history of the urn containing the heart of Montrose, as represented in the portrait of the wife of the second Lord Napier.

He related to her the following circumstances concerning it. He said, that the first Marquis of Montrose, being extremely partial to his nephew, the second Lord Napier, and his wife, had always promised at his death to leave his heart to the latter, as a mark of the affection which he felt towards her, for the unremitting kindness which she had shown to him in all the different vicissitudes of his life and fortune; that, on the Marquis's execution, a confidential friend of her own, employed by Lady Napier, succeeded in obtaining for her the heart of the Marquis; that she, after it had been embalmed by her desire, enclosed it in a little steel case, made of the blade of Montrose's sword, placed this case in a gold filagree box, which had been given to John Napier, the Inventor of Logarithms, by a Doge of Venice, while he was on his travels in Italy,† and deposited this box

* The portraits mentioned by Sir Alexander are still in possession of Lord Napier, with the exception of that of Montrose, which I cannot trace. A great proportion of the Napier properties were sold after the death of the fifth Lord, and the family portraits became dilapidated and dispersed.

† In the proceedings of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1835, I find it stated by Sir Alexander Johnston, in his capacity of Chairman of the Committee of Correspondence, and Vice-President of that society, and when giving a history of their Transactions, that,—"It appeared by *John Napier's* [the mathematician] *papers*, that he had, from the information he obtained during his travels, adopted the opinion, that *numerals* had first been discovered by the College of Madura, and that they had been introduced from India by the Arabs into Spain, and other parts of Europe. Lord Napier [Sir Alexander's grandfather, who meant to have written a life of the great Napier,] was anxious to examine the sources from whence John Napier had derived his information on this subject, and when he himself was abroad visited Venice," &c. I was not in possession of this fact, so interesting to science, when writing the History of the Logarithms in the Memoirs of Napier. Sir Alexander has since told me that these papers of the great Napier came into the possession of his, Sir Alexander's, mother, and were most

in a large silver urn, which had been presented some years before by the Marquis to her husband, Lord Napier; that it had been Lady Napier's first intention to keep the gold box containing Montrose's heart in the silver urn upon a little table near her bed-side, and that she had the portrait of herself, of which the one in the drawing-room is a copy, painted at that time; but that she had subsequently altered her intention, and transmitted the gold box, with Montrose's heart in it, to the young Marquis of Montrose, who was then abroad with her husband, Lord Napier, in exile; that, for some reason or another, the gold box and heart had been lost sight of by both families, that of Montrose and that of Napier, for some time, until an intimate friend of his, the fifth Lord Napier, a gentleman of Guelderland, recognized, in the collection of a collector of curiosities in Holland, the identical gold filagree box with the steel case, and procured it for him, when he was in that country; but that he never could trace what had become of the large silver urn.*

unfortunately destroyed, with some curious papers of her own, by fire. He also tells me that his grandfather, Lord Napier, had satisfied himself of the fact of John Napier having been at Venice.

* In illustration of this part of Sir Alexander's letter, I may mention that, in the Napier charter-chest, there is a deed of gift of L. 3000 from Charles II., to the Lady Napier who embalmed the heart, dated in 1662, soon after the death of her husband in exile. The King states,—"The Lady Napier, and the now Lord Napier, her son, have been very great sufferers during the late commotions raised in Scotland, from the first beginning thereof, both by plundering their goods, long exile, and did constantly adhere to us beyond seas, where their sufferings were also very great." This indicates that after Montrose's execution Lady Napier had joined her husband, Montrose's nephew, who being particularly excepted from all acts of grace and pardon both by the Covenanters in 1650, and by Cromwell in 1654, could never come home, and died at Delfshaven in Holland, in the spring of 1660, before the Restoration. Lady Napier may herself have been the bearer of the heart to young Montrose. She had returned before her husband's death, however, (for the sake of their five children,) and in 1656 is reduced to petition "his Highness the Lord Protector, showing that the ordinance of pardon and grace to the people of Scotland nameth no provision for the maintainance of her and her children, as the wives of other forfeited persons have." Upon this petition she receives L. 100 out of the rents of the Napier estates, and is again reduced to petition in 1658, when the same sum yearly is granted to her by an order signed by Monk. Young Montrose must have returned from Flanders before 1654, for in that year he was with the army of Royalists in the north of Scotland; and in 1659 he was imprisoned by the Parliament. But there was a party in Holland with whom he might well leave his father's heart. In the Napier charter-chest is a bond for a thousand merks, borrowed by "Archibald Lord Napier, and Mrs Lilias Napier, our sister, from Mr James Weems, lawful son of Dr Ludovick Weems," and made payable "thirty days after that this our band

In the latter part of the life of her father, my mother was his constant companion ; and was, as a young woman of 16, proceeding with him and her mother to France, when he was suddenly taken ill at Lewis, in Sussex, and died of the gout. Two days before his death, finding himself very weak, and believing at the time that there was little or no chance of his recovery, he told my mother that, owing to a great part of his family property having been forfeited at the time of Cromwell's usurpation, and to the unexpected expence he had been at in plans for carrying the Caledonian Canal into effect, he was much afraid that Merchiston would be sold after his death, and that he would have nothing to leave to her ; but that, however, as she had always taken an interest in the story of the heart of Montrose, he would give her in his lifetime, which he then did in the presence of her mother, the gold filagree box containing it ; and trusted that it would be valuable to her, as the only token of his affection which he might be able to leave her ; and that it might hereafter remind her of the many happy hours which he had spent in instructing her while a child in the tower of Merchiston, and that, whatever vicissitudes of fortune might befal her, it might always afford her the satisfaction of being able to show that she was descended from persons who were distinguished in the history of Scotland, by their piety, their science, their courage, and their patriotism.

After my mother's marriage, and when I was about five years old, she, my father, and myself, were on the way to India, in the fleet commanded by Commodore Johnston, when it was attacked off the Cape de Verd Islands, by the French squadron, under Suffrein. One of the French frigates engaged the Indiaman in which we were, and my father, with our captain's permission, took command of four of the quarter-deck guns. My mother refused to go below, but remained on the quarter-deck with me at her side, declaring that no wife ought to quit her husband in a moment of such peril, and that we should both share my father's fate. A shot from the frigate struck one of these guns, killed two of the men, and with the splinters which it tore off the deck, knocked my father down, wounded my mother severely in the arm, and bruised the muscles of my right hand so severely,

shall be shown and intimated to Lady Elizabeth Erskine, Lady Napier." The bond is dated " Shiedam in Holland, $\frac{7}{17}$ of October 1652," and witnessed by " Dr George Wiseheart, minister to the Scot's congregation there, and writer thereof." Scotstarvet mentions in his MS. written before 1660, that this Lord Napier was, upon some occasion of his exile, *robbed of all his valuables.*

that, as you know, it is even now difficult for me at times to write, or even to hold a pen. My mother held me during the action with one hand, and with the other hand she held a large thick velvet reticule, in which she, conceiving that if the frigate captured the Indiaman the French crew would plunder the ship, had placed some of the things which she valued the most, including the pictures of her father and mother, and the gold filagree case containing the heart of Montrose. It was supposed that the splinter must have first struck the reticule, which hung loose in her hand, for, to her great distress, the gold filagree box, which was in it, was shattered to pieces, but the steel case had resisted the blow. The frigate that attacked us was called off, and next day Commodore Johnston and Sir John M'Pherson, who was with him in the flag-ship, came on board of the Indiaman, and complimented my father and mother in the highest terms for the encouragement which they had given the crew of their ship.

When in India, at Madura, my mother found a celebrated native goldsmith, who, partly from the fragments she had saved, and partly from her description, made as beautiful a gold filagree box as the one that had been destroyed. She caused him also to make for her a silver urn, like that in the picture, and to engrave on the outside of it, in Tamil and Telugoo, the two languages most generally understood throughout the southern peninsula of India, a short account of the most remarkable events of Montrose's life, and of the circumstances of his death. In this urn my mother enclosed the gold filagree box containing the case with Montrose's heart, also two fragments of the former filagree box, and a certificate, signed by the gentleman of Guelderland, explaining the various circumstances which, in his and my grandfather's opinion, unquestionably proved it to contain the heart of Montrose. The urn was placed upon an ebony table that stood in the drawing-room of the house* at Madura, which is now my property, and which I intend for a Hindu College. My mother's anxiety about it gave rise to a report amongst the natives of the country that it was a *talisman*, and that whoever possessed it could never be wounded in battle or taken prisoner. Owing to this report it was stolen from her, and for some time it was not known what had become of it. At last she learnt that it had been offered for sale to a powerful chief, who had purchased it for a large sum of money.

* For a description of the manner in which this building was laid out, by the late Colonel Mackenzie, with a view to its becoming a College, see Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. ii. App. p. xii.

My father was in the habit of sending me every year, during the hunting and shooting season, to stay with some one of the native chiefs who lived in the neighbourhood of Madura, for four months at a time, in order to acquire the various languages, and to practise the native gymnastic exercises. One day while I was hunting with the chief who was said to have purchased the urn, my horse was attacked by a wild hog, which we were pursuing, but I succeeded in wounding it so severely with my hunting pike, that the chief soon afterwards overtook and killed it. He was pleased with my conduct upon this occasion, and asked, before all his attendants, in what manner I would wish him to show his respect and regard for me. I said, if the report was really true, that he had bought the silver urn which belonged to my mother, he would do me a great favour by restoring it; and to induce him to do so, I explained to him all the circumstances connected with it. He replied that it was quite true that he had purchased it for a large sum, without knowing that it had been stolen from my mother, and he immediately added, that one brave man should always attend to the wishes of another brave man, whatever his religion or his nation might be; that he therefore considered it his duty to fulfil the wishes of the brave man whose heart was in the urn, and whose wish it was that his heart should be kept by his descendants; and, for that reason, he would willingly restore it to my mother. Next day, after presenting me with six of his finest dogs, and two of his best matchlocks, he dismissed me with the urn in my possession, and with a present from himself to my mother of a gold dress, and some shawls, accompanied by a letter, expressing his great regret that he had innocently been the cause of her distress by purchasing the urn, which he assured her he would not have done had he known that it had been stolen from her.

This was the native chief so celebrated throughout the Southern Peninsula of India, who, thirty or forty years ago, rebelled against the authority of his supposed sovereign, the Nabob of Arcot, and who, after behaving with the most undaunted courage, was conquered by a detachment of English troops, and executed with many members of his family, as is fully described in the first volume of Major Welsh's Military Reminiscences. When, in 1807, I visited the site of this chief's former capital, and the scenes of my early sports in the Southern Peninsula of India, there were still two of his old servants alive, who used to have charge of his hunting dogs when I was with him. When they heard who I was, they came to me as I was travelling through the woods of their former master, and gave me a

very detailed account of his last adventures, and of the fortitude with which he had met his death, telling me among other anecdotes of him, that when he heard that he was to be executed immediately, he alluded to the story of the urn, and expressed a hope to some of his attendants, that those who admired his conduct would preserve his heart in the same manner as the European warrior's heart had been preserved in the silver urn.

My father and mother returned to Europe in 1792, and being in France when the revolutionary Government required all persons to give up their plate, and gold and silver ornaments, my mother entrusted the silver urn with Montrose's heart, to an Englishwoman of the name of Knowles, at Boulogne, who promised to secrete it until it could be sent safely to England. This person having died shortly afterwards, neither my mother or father in their lifetime, nor I myself since their death, have ever been able to trace the urn, although every exertion has been made by me for the purpose; and although, within the last few years, I have received from the French Government the value of the plate and jewels which my father and mother had been compelled to give up to the municipality of Calais, in 1792. To the last hour of her life my mother deeply regretted this loss, and in July 1819, a few days before her death, expressed to me her wishes with regard to the urn, if it should ever be recovered by me.

As I frequently opened the urn, the new filagree box, and the steel case, after the native chief returned them to my mother, I will give you, from my own recollection, some account of the appearance of the fragments of the old filagree box, and of the steel case and its contents.

The steel case was of the size and shape of an egg. It was opened by pressing down a little knob, as is done in opening a watch-case. Inside was a little parcel, supposed to contain all that remained of Montrose's heart, wrapped up in a piece of coarse cloth, and done over with a substance like glue. The gold filagree case was similar in workmanship to the ancient Venetian work in gold which you have frequently seen, particularly to that of the gilt worked vases in which the Venetian flasks at Warwick Castle are enclosed. I have none of the fragments: they were always kept along with the writings on the subject within the silver urn. My grandfather never had a doubt that the steel case contained the heart of Montrose.

Believe me to be, my dear daughters,

Your most affectionate father,

ALEXR. JOHNSTON.

# MONTROSE'S POEMS.

[The following poems, with the exception of the pasquil on Hamilton, p. 268, are all that have been preserved of those poetical compositions alluded to, by Dr Wishart, as having been the amusement and solace of the few moments Montrose could devote to the elegant accomplishments of his gifted mind. The authorship has never been disputed or questioned, and they bear the stamp of Montrose's mind and manner. They were first printed together, in Watson's now rare collection, 1711, and, as that editor states, from unprinted manuscripts. Probably, however, they are to be met with printed separately, of an older date, on single sheets, or "Broadsides," as was the fashion of the times.]

## No. I.

*Part First.*

My dear and only love, I pray,
This noble world of thee
Be governed by no other sway
But purest monarchie.
For if confusion have a part,
Which vertuous souls abhore,
And hold a synod in thy heart,
I'll never love thee more.

Like Alexander I will reign,
And I will reign alone,
My thoughts shall evermore disdain
A rival on my throne.
He either fears his fate too much,
Or his deserts are small,
That puts it not unto the touch,
To win or lose it all.

But I must rule and govern still,
And always give the law,
And have each subject at my will,
And all to stand in awe.

But 'gainst my battery if I find
Thou shun'st the prize so sore,
As that thou set'st me up a blind,
I'll never love thee more.

If in the empire of thy heart,
Where I should solely be,
Another do pretend a part,
And dares to vie with me.
Or if committees thou erect,
And goes on such a score,
I'll sing and laugh at thy neglect,
And never love thee more.

But if thou wilt be constant then,
And faithful of thy word,
I'll make thee glorious by my pen,
And famous by my sword.
I'll serve thee in such noble ways
Was never heard before;
I'll crown and deck thee all with bays,
And love thee evermore.

*Part Second.*

My dear and only love, take heed,
Lest thou thyself expose
And let all longing lovers feed
Upon such looks as those.
A marble wall then build about,
Beset without a door;
But if thou let thy heart fly out,
I'll never love thee more.

Let not their oaths, like vollies shot,
Make any breach at all;
Nor smoothness of their language plot
Which way to scale the wall;
Nor balls of wild-fire love consume
The shrine which I adore;
For if such smoke about thee fume,
I'll never love thee more.

I think thy virtues be too strong
To suffer by surprise;

Those victual'd, by my love, so long,
The siege at length must rise,
And leave thee ruled in that health
And state thou was before;
But if thou turn a common-wealth
I'll never love thee more.

Or if by fraud, or by consent,
Thy heart to ruine come,
I'll sound no trumpet as I wont,
Nor march by tuck of drum;
But hold my arms, like ensigns, up,
Thy falsehood to deplore,
And bitterly will sigh and weep,
And never love thee more.

I'll do with thee as Nero did,
When Rome was set on fire,
Not only all relief forbid,
But to a hill retire,
And scorn to shed a tear to see
Thy spirit grown so poor;
But smiling sing, until I die,
I'll never love thee more.

Yet, for the love I bare thee once,
Lest that thy name should die,
A monument of marble-stone
The truth shall testifie;
That every pilgrim, passing by,
May pity and deplore
My case, and read the reason why
I can love thee no more.

The golden laws of love shall be
Upon this pillar hung,—
A simple heart, a single eye,
A true and constant tongue;
Let no man for more love pretend
Than he has hearts in store;
True love begun shall never end;
Love one and love no more.

Then shall thy heart be set by mine,
But in far different case;

For mine was true, so was not thine,
But lookt like Janus' face.
For as the waves with every wind,
So sails thou every shore,
And leaves my constant heart behind,—
How can I love thee more?

My heart shall with the sun be fix'd
For constancy most strange,
And thine shall with the moon be mix'd,
Delighting ay in change.
Thy beauty shin'd at first most bright,
And woe is me therefore,
That ever I found thy love so light
I could love thee no more.

The misty mountains, smoking lakes,
The rocks resounding echo,
The whistling wind that murmur makes,
Shall with me sing hey ho.
The tossing seas, the tumbling boats,
Tears dropping from each shore,
Shall tune with me their turtle notes,
I'll never love thee more.

As doth the turtle, chaste and true,
Her fellow's death regrete,
And daily mourns for his adieu,
And ne'er renews her mate;
So though thy faith was never fast,
Which grieves me wond'rous sore,
Yet I shall live in love so chast,
That I shall love no more.

And when all gallants ride about
These monuments to view,
Whereon is written, in and out,
Thou traitorous and untrue;
Then in a passion they shall pause,
And thus say, sighing sore,
Alas! he had too just a cause
Never to love thee more.

And when that tracing goddess, Fame
From east to west shall flee,

She shall record it, to thy shame,
*How* thou hast loved me;
And how in odds our love was such
As few have been before;
Thou loved too many, and I too much,
So I can love no more.

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No. II.

THERE'S nothing in this world can prove
So true and real pleasure,
As perfect sympathy in love,
Which is a real treasure.

The purest strain of perfect love
In vertue's dye and season,
Is that whose influence doth move,
And doth convince our reason.

Designs attend, desires give place,
Hopes had no more availeth,
The cause remov'd the effect doth cease,
Flame not maintain'd soon faileth.

The conquest then of richest hearts,
Well lodg'd and trim'd by nature,
Is that,—which true content imparts,—
Where worth is join'd with feature.

Fill'd with sweet hope then must I still
Love what's to be admired;
When frowning aspects cross the will,
Desires are more endeared.

Unhappy, then, unhappy I,
To joy in tragick pleasure,
And in so dear and desperate way
T'abound yet have no treasure.

Yet will I not of fate despair,
Time oft in end relieveth,
But hope my star will change her air,
And joy where now she grieveth.

## No. III.

*On False Friends.*

Unhappy is the man, in whose breast is confined
The sorrows and distresses all, of an afflicted mind;
The extremity is great—he dies if he conceal—
The world's so void of secret friends—betrayed if he reveal.
Then break afflicted heart, and live not in these days,
When all prove merchants of their faith none trusts what other says.
For when the sun doth shine then shadows do appear,
But when the sun doth hide his face they with the sun reteir;
Some friends as shadows are, and fortune as the sun,
They never proffer any help till fortune hath begun,
But if in any case fortune shall first decay,
Then they, as shadows of the sun, with fortune pass away.

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## No. IV.

*In praise of Women.*

When heav'n's great Jove had made the world's round frame,
Earth, water, air, and fire, above the same
The ruling orbs, the planets, spheres, and all
The lesser creatures in the earth's vast ball:
Then,—as a curious alchemist still draws
From grosser metals finer, and from those
Extracts another, and from that again
Another that doth far excel the same,—
So fram'd he man of elements combin'd,
T' excel that substance whence he was refin'd;
But that poor creature, drawn from his breast,
Excelleth him, as he excell'd the rest; *
Or as a stubborn stalk, whereon there grows
A dainty lily, or a fragrant rose,
The stalk may boast, and set its vertues forth,
But, take away the flower, where is its worth?
And yet, fair ladies, you must know,
Howbeit I do adore you so,

* Auld Nature swears, the lovely dears
Her noblest work she classes, O:
Her prentice han' she try'd on man,
And then she made the lasses, O.—*Burns.*

Reciprocal your flames must prove,
Or my ambition scorns to love.
A noble soul doth still abhore
To strike, but where 'tis conquerour.

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## No. V.

Can little beasts with lions roar,
And little birds with eagles soar?
Can shallow streams command the seas,
And little ants the humming bees?
No, no,—no, no,—it is not meet
The head should stoop unto the feet.

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## No. VI.

Burst out my soul in main of tears,
And thou my heart sighs' tempest move,
My tongue let never plaints forbear,
But murmure still my crossed love;
Combine together all in one,
And thunder forth my tragick moan.

But, tush, poor drop, cut breath, broke air,
Can you my passions express?
No: rather but augment my care,
In making them appear the less,
Seeing but from small woes words do come,
And great ones they sing always dumb.

My swelling griefs then bend your self
This fatal breast of mine to fill,
The centre where all sorrows dwell,
The limbeck where all griefs distil,
That silent thus in plaints I may
Consume and melt my self away.*

* My thoughts their dungeon know too well
Back to my breast the wanderers shrink,
And droop within their silent cell.—*Byron.*

Yet, that I may contented die,
I only wish, before my death,
Transparent that my breast may be,
Ere that I do expire my breath;
Since sighs, tears, plaints, express no smart,
It might be seen into my heart.

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No. VII.

*On Charles I.*

Great, Good, and Just, could I but rate
My grief, and thy too rigid fate,
I'd weep the world in such a strain
As it should deluge once again:
But since thy loud-tongued blood demands supplies
More from *Briareus* hands than *Argus* eyes,
I'll sing thine obsequies with trumpet sounds,
And write thine epitaph in blood and wounds.

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No. VIII.

*Metrical Prayer.*

Let them bestow on every airth a limb,
Then open all my veins,—that I may swim
To thee, my Maker, in that crimson lake,—
Then place my purboiled head upon a stake,
Scatter my ashes—strew them in the air—
Lord! since thou knowest where all these atoms are,
I'm hopeful thou'l't recover once my dust,
And confident thou'l't raise me with the just.

# ADDITIONAL NOTES

AND

# ILLUSTRATIONS.

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NOTE I. pp. 105—151.—*Montrose's Assassinations.*

CLARENDON, in the suppressed passage referred to in our text, gives the following account of the Incident :

" Upon a sudden, two or three days before the Session was thought to end, the two great Lords, Hamilton and Argyle, at midnight, with such followers as were at hand, fled out of the town to a house of the Marquis of Hamilton's, some miles distant from Edinburgh, where they stood upon their guard, their dependants giving it out that there was a plot to have murdered them. The town was presently in an uproar, the gates shut, and guards set, and the Parliament there in great disorder and apprehension ; whilst the two Lords sent letters both to the King and to the Parliament, of great conspiracies and combinations, entered into against them, not without some reflection upon his Majesty. The King desired the Parliament to be careful in the examination of all particulars, who thereupon made committees ; and after some days spent in taking the depositions of such witnesses as offered themselves, and of such other persons whom they thought fit to produce, the Lords return to Edinburgh, not without some acknowledgement to the King of an over-apprehension ; though otherwise they carried themselves like men that thought they were in danger. That which gave most occasion of discourse was, that from that time, Will Murray,—who was the only, or the most notable prosecutor and contriver of whatsoever was to have been done in that business, and was before *understood* to be a most avowed enemy to Marquis Hamilton, grew to be of a most entire friendship with him, and at defiance with the Earl of Montrose, with whom,

till then, he had so absolute a power, that by his skill and interest that Earl was reduced to the King's service; and I have heard the Earl of Montrose say, that he was the only man who discovered that whole counsel [to impeach Hamilton and Argyle] to the Marquis, after he had been a principal encourager of what had been proposed to the King; and an undertaker to prove many notable things himself. Whatever was in this business, and I could never discover more than I have here set down, though the King himself told me all that he knew of it, as I verily believe, it had a strange influence at Westminster, and served to contribute to all the senseless fears they thought fit to put on."

This narrative, together with the whole suppressed passage from which we have extracted it, seems conclusive as to the fact that Clarendon had not been told by the King either that Montrose had offered to assassinate Hamilton and Argyle, or that he was supposed to be implicated in the alleged projected massacre called the Incident. The following letter from Charles himself to Montrose, written soon after the King returned to England, affords another most convincing proof that Montrose had never proposed himself as an assassin to a Sovereign who, with all his faults, was enlightened, refined, and merciful, and to whom Montrose himself said, in the letter from Inverlochy, that he had endeavoured to restrain the slaughter, "for well I know your Majesty does not delight in their blood."

"Montrose,

"I know I need no arguments to induce you to my service. Duty and loyalty are sufficient to *a man of so much honour as I know you to be:* Yet as I think this of you, so I will have you to believe of me, that I would not invite you to share of my hard fortune, if I intended you not to be a plentiful partaker of my good. The bearer will acquaint you of my designs, whom I have commanded to follow your directions in the pursuit of them. I will say no more but that I am your assured friend,—

"*York, 7th May* 1642." "Charles R."

Is it possible that Charles could have written in this strain, if, only a few months previously, he had had occasion to reject, *with abhorrence*, a proposal of assassination from Montrose? But Mr Brodie continually speaks of Montrose's *assassinations* in the plural number. This multiplication of the calumny depends upon no better materials that Mr Brodie's own violent assumption against

Montrose of one other story of assassination, for which, however, I cannot discover any authority. He accuses Montrose,—who, he is pleased to say, "had already betrayed his aptitude to commit the base and cowardly crime of assassination,"—of having murdered the Regicide Dorislaus at the Hague. Our historiographer has quoted no authority whatever for this assertion. The King's murderers had the effrontery and rashness to send that notorious participator as their ambassador to the Hague, immediately after the King's death, and accordingly Dorislaus fell a sacrifice to the natural excitement, though most unjustifiable means, of some of the Royalists resident there. Clarendon, after narrating the fact, adds,—"They kept not their own counsel so well, believing they had done a very heroic act, but that it was generally known they were all Scottish men, and most of them servants or dependants upon the Marquis of Montrose." This is extremely likely, for all the ultra Royalists at the Hague came under that denomination. But Montrose himself was then occupied with the King in a manner that renders it most improbable that he had any participation whatever in this lawless and impolitic act, even had such deeds not been repugnant to his "clear honour" and heroic character. Nor does it at all appear that Clarendon meant to implicate Montrose personally in the matter. I can find no other authority for the assertion of Mr Brodie, who, by the way, keeps out of view any testimony afforded by Clarendon of a contrary tendency. Clarendon mentions that the chief fomenter, of the violent spleen to the person of Montrose displayed at the Hague, was Lauderdale, "whose fiery spirit was not capable of any moderation." One of the Council asked him, "what foul offence the Marquis of Montrose had ever committed that should hinder those to make a conjunction with him?" Lauderdale, in reply, particularly referred to the slaughter at Inverlochy. The other asked him, "*if Montrose had ever caused any more to die in cold blood*, or after the battle was ended, since what was done in it *flagrante* was more to be imputed to the fierceness of his soldiers, than to his want of humanity." The very terms of this question indicate the contemporary opinion of the relative characters of Montrose and his enemies; and the reply of Lauderdale is most important to Montrose: "The Earl confessed that he did not know he was guilty of any *but what was done in the field*." In fact, Montrose's bitterest enemies had never more to allege against him. In that violent tissue of malice and falsehood, with which the covenanting faction met Montrose's Declaration in name of the King, shortly before his capture and execution, and which

is signed, and probably composed by Archibald Johnston, Clerk-Register, and minion of the Kirk, he is only accused of apostacy, malignancy, and murders *in battle*. Yet Archibald Johnston, whose violent narrative there given, of the persecution of Montrose in 1641, is unquestionably false, would have been too happy, could he have ventured, with the slightest plausibility, to record "assassinations" against one who in that precious document of the covenanting government is termed, "That viperous brood of Satan, James Graham, whom the Estates of Parliament have long since declared traitor, *the church hath delivered into the hands of the Devil*, and the nation doth generally detest and abhor."

Against all the assertions, then, of his modern calumniators, we take as the certain truth, Montrose's own dying declaration, fortified by the testimony of his bitterest contemporary enemies,—"Disorders in an army cannot be prevented, but they were no sooner known than punished; never was any man's blood spilt but in battle, and even then, *many thousand lives have I preserved*." This is not the language of an assassin.

I had intended to add Robert Baillie's paper, circulated at the time, and in which he labours to prove there was a Plot and an Incident, and that Montrose and Traquair were at the bottom of both. But the paper referred to, p. 151, would occupy more space than it is worth, and the curious reader is referred to the Bannatyne edition of Spalding, Vol. i. p. 347, where he will find it printed. Baillie's paper proves nothing, while it professes to prove every thing, and only shews, to use Lord Napier's phrase, how "these excellent wits can make any thing out of any thing."

### Note II. p. 262.—*Montrose's Siege of Morpeth.*

Dr Wishart gives no account of Montrose's siege of the Castle of Morpeth, but a long and minute history of it will be found in Lord Somerville's "Memorie of the Somervilles," edited by Sir Walter Scott, Vol. ii. p. 306 to 343. The account is curious, as proving that Montrose possessed science and patience for the successful conduct of the most arduous siege, no less than that decisive daring, and promptitude of action, which so eminently characterized his subsequent desultory wars in Scotland. From the details of this siege we obtain another proof that the objection sometimes urged against Montrose's tactics, namely, that he possessed himself of none of the strongholds of Scotland, in those wars, as if he were blind to the value of such acquisitions, or incapable of such patient and scientific warfare, is a crude

and false criticism. We may depend upon it that Montrose knew best and that nothing but the impolicy of such attempts, in reference to his immediate object, or their impracticability, in reference to his peculiar means, deterred him from laying siege to the covenanting strongholds, instead of destroying their armies in detail, as he did, according to a plan, the conception and execution of which deservedly ranks Montrose with the greatest military geniuses of history. The account of this siege is also highly complimentary to the humanity of Montrose as a conqueror. "The same day the castle was delivered up, the Marquis of Montrose was pleased to invite the late governor and his four captains to dine with him at his quarters, then within the town of Morpeth, which they accepted of. A little before the table was drawn, there comes a gentleman belonging to the governor, and sounds him in the ear that, his soldiers being drawn out, attending their convoy, the English foot had barbarously fallen upon them, beat them with the buts of their muskets, and had not only taken from them their cloak-bags, but also shamefully stripped several of the soldiers to their shirts. This was surprising to the governor, and immediately his countenance changed so that the whole table took notice thereof, but more particularly the Marquis of Montrose demanded of him what news he had received from that gentleman. 'Such,' says the governor, 'as I am persuaded your Excellence will not be well pleased with when you shall understand the articles of capitulation are fully broken.' 'What,' says the Marquis in great passion, 'who durst break any of them?'—'This gentleman will inform your Excellence; which when he had done, the Marquis immediately rises from the table, and calls for the English officers, commanding them instantly to repair to their respective companies, and cause to be delivered back whatever their soldiers had taken from the garrison soldiers, and that upon their highest peril, as they would answer to him."—*Memorie of the Somervilles*, p. 332.

NOTE III. p. 548.—*Montrose's Defence and Dying Speech.*

Argyle pretended to keep aloof from the condemnation of Montrose, but there can be no question whatever that it entirely depended upon the nod of the Dictator whether his rival lived or died. Balfour's notes, quoted at p. 528, are important in reference to this subject. The fact of Argyle attempting to implicate Charles II. in the death of Montrose, indicates that Argyle himself was conscious of the foul deed, and anxious to excuse it, even by a statement which he must have known to be false. Balfour refers to a document (in the garbled

and partial manner which too frequently characterizes his notes in reference to Montrose,) by which it was said, Charles II. had commanded Montrose to lay down arms. Carte, who was not aware of Balfour's note, quotes the identical document, from the original, "*penes* Robert Long, Baronet." With Argyle's own commissioners his Majesty stipulated, "That he should oblige Montrose to lay down his arms, and leave his artillery, arms, and ammunition with the Sheriff of Orkney, *and have* 10,000 *rix dollars paid to his use*, in Sir Patrick Drummond's hands, and *a full indemnity* be granted to him, to the Earls of Seaforth and Kinnoul, the Lords Napier and Reay, Sir James Macdonnel, and all his officers, soldiers, and adherents, *with liberty for him to stay with safety for a competent time in Scotland, and then a ship to be provided for transporting him where he pleased*." This is clearly the document alluded to by Balfour; allowing for the difference of the old and new style, it bears the very date. Carte adds, that, immediately on being signed, it was sent to Scotland by the hands of Sir William Fleming. Argyle was perfectly cognisant of the fact that the King had sanctioned every step Montrose took, and that he was most anxious for his safety. Hence the indecent haste with which Montrose was hurried to the scaffold, a circumstance pretty generally understood at the time. Whitelocke notes, "May 20th, letters from Berwick, that in Scotland Montrose was sentenced to be quartered, and preparations for his execution, before they heard from their King, or he from them, *lest he should intercede for his pardon*." Montrose himself was perfectly aware of the colour with which Argyle and his clique would attempt to cover their murderous decree against him, than which, in the whole compass of history, there is nothing meaner or more foul. Hence Montrose's anxiety to maintain in the face of his murderers that, from first to last, he had simply acted by the express commands, and under the royal commissions of the two Charleses. Mr Brodie, (Hist. Vol. iv. p. 269,) is pleased to record, contrary to the evidence of every ear and eye-witness, and the concurring testimony of *Montrose's enemies*,—that, "when reproached in Parliament, previous to his sentence, with his manifold enormities, *his temper forsook him*." The following are the precise words of Montrose's reply to Argyle's creature, the Chancellor Loudon, whose vituperative address proves that his temper had indeed forsaken *him*, while Montrose, even Balfour admits, "behaved himself with a great deal of courage and modesty."

"He desired to know if he might be allowed to speak for himself, which being granted, he said:—'Since you have declared unto me

that you have agreed with the King, I look upon you as if his Majesty were sitting amongst you, and in that relation I appear with this reverence, bare-headed. My care hath been always to walk as became a good Christian, and a loyal subject. I engaged in the *first* Covenant, and was faithful to it, *until I perceived some private persons, under colour of Religion, intended to wring the authority from the King, and to seize on it for themselves.* And when it was thought fit, for the clearing of honest men, that a bond should be subscribed, wherein the security of Religion was sufficiently provided for, I subscribed. For the *League and Covenant, I thank God I was never in it*, and so could not break it; but how far *Religion* hath been advanced by it, and the sad consequences that have followed on it, these poor distressed kingdoms can witness. When his late Majesty had, by the blessing of God, almost subdued those Rebels that rose against him in England, and that *a faction* of this kingdom went into the assistance of those Rebels, his Majesty gave commission to me, to come into this kingdom, and to make a diversion of those forces that were going from hence against him. I acknowledged the command most just, and I conceived myself bound in conscience and duty to obey it. What my carriage was in this country many of you may bear witness. *Disorders in an army cannot be prevented; but they were no sooner known than punished; never was any man's blood spilt but in battle; and even then many thousand lives have I preserved;* and as I came in upon his Majesty's warrant, so, upon his letters, did I lay aside all interest, and retreat. And, for my coming in at this time, it was *by his Majesty's commands*, in order to the accelerating the Treaty betwixt him and you, his Majesty knowing that whenever he had ended with you I was ready to retire upon his call. I may justly say, that *never subject acted upon more honourable grounds, nor by so lawful a power*, as I did in this service. And, therefore, I desire you to lay aside prejudice, and consider me as a *Christian*, in relation to the justice of the quarrel,—as a *subject*, in relation to my Royal Master's commands,—and as your *neighbour*, in relation to *the many of your lives I have preserved in battle.* And be not too rash,—but let me be judged by the laws of God—the laws of nature and nations—and the laws of this land. If you do otherwise,—I here do appeal, from you, to the righteous Judge of the world, who one day must be both your Judge and mine, and who always gives righteous judgement.'—This he delivered with such gravity, and *without passion*, as was much admired even by his enemies. After which the Chancellor commanded the sentence to be read,

which he heard with a settled and unmoved countenance, and, desiring to be further heard, was presently stopt by the Chancellor, who commanded he should be presently removed back again to prison."

The historian is neither to be admired nor envied whose comment, in reference to such a speech, pronounced under such circumstances, is,—"*His temper forsook him*".

The same eye-witness narrates, that,—"Because all his friends, and well-wishers, were debarred from coming near him, there was a boy, designed for that purpose, on the scaffold, who took his last speech, which was to this effect: 'I am sorry if this manner of my end be scandalous to any good Christian. Doth it not often happen to the righteous according to the ways of the wicked, and to the wicked according to the ways of the righteous? Doth not sometimes a just man perish in his righteousness, and a wicked man prosper in his malice? They who know me should not dis-esteem me for this. Many greater than I have been dealt with in this kind. Yet I must not say but that all God's judgments are just. For my private sins, I acknowledge this to be just with God,—I submit myself to Him. But in regard of man, I may say they are but instruments,—God forgive them—I forgive them—they have oppressed the poor, and violently perverted judgment and justice,—but He that is higher than they will reward them. What I did in this kingdom was in obedience to the most just commands of my Sovereign—*for his defence, in the day of his distress*, against those that rose up against him. I acknowledge nothing, but fear God and honour the King, according to the commandments of God, and the law of nature and nations. I have not sinned against man, but against God, and with *Him there is mercy*, which is the ground of my drawing near unto Him. It is objected against me by many, even good people, that I am under the censure of the church. This is not my fault, since it is only for doing my duty, by obeying my Prince's most just commands, for religion, his sacred person, and authority. Yet I am sorry they did excommunicate me,—and, in that which is according to God's laws, without wronging my conscience or allegiance, I desire to be relaxed. If *they* will not thus do it, I appeal to *God*, who is the righteous Judge of the world, and who must and will, I hope, be my Judge and *Saviour*. It is spoken of me that I should blame the King!* God forbid. For the late King,—he lived a Saint, and died a Martyr. I pray God I may so end as he did. *If ever I*

* *i. e.* As if I meant to blame the King. See Argyle's letter, quoted in note to p. 550.

*would wish my soul in another man's stead, it should be in his.* For his Majesty now living, never people, I believe, might be more happy in a King. His commands to me were most just. In nothing that he promiseth will he fail. He deals justly with all men. I pray God he be so dealt with, that he be not *betrayed under trust as his father was.* I desire not to be mistaken, as if my carriage at this time, in relation to your ways, were stubborn. I do but follow the light of my own conscience, which is seconded by the working of the good spirit of God that is within me. I thank Him I go to Heaven's throne with joy. If *He* enable me against the fear of death, and furnish me with courage and confidence to embrace it even in its most ugly shape, let God be glorified in my end, though it were in my damnation. Yet I say not this out of any fear or distrust, but out of my duty to God, and love to his people. I have no more to say, but that I desire your charity and prayers. I shall pray for you all. I leave my soul to God—my service to my Prince—my good-will to my friends,—and my name, and charity, to you all. And thus briefly I have exonerated my conscience.' Being desired to pray apart, he said, 'I have already poured out my soul before the Lord, who knows my heart, and into whose hands I have commended my spirit; and he hath been graciously pleased to return to me a full assurance of peace, in Jesus Christ my Redeemer.'"

THE END

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